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The National Portrait Gallery—Who Wrote the Biographies of Distinguished Americans—Some Facts Hitherto Unknown—An Interesting Letter.

GERMANTOWN, Oct. 29, 1873.

To the Editor of The Press:

That was a witty, if not over-sensible Frenchman, who, on being twitted on having no library, replied, "Oh! when I want books I always make them myself!" Not so James B. Longacre, a most respectable gentleman of Philadelphia, and long the die engraver of the Mint, when, in company with James Herring of New York, he hit upon the idea of the very valuable "National Portrait Gallery of Distinguished Americans," published in four large octavo volumes, from 1834 to 1839. He enlisted the best talent of the country to write the lives, while he superintended the engraving, which he caused to be executed in a high style of art. Fortunate is the individual or the library that possesses a copy! The Frenchman's collection, however large, could not have equalled this rare gift to our country. It was long a literary secret, well kept, who wrote these remarkable pages. I am only now able to designate the authors. Some of them were autobiographies, as unquestionably appears from the following letter from Mr. Longacre's talented daughter, Mrs. John F. Keen, who has kindly communicated the facts. This literary information should be preserved in every copy of the work:

List of Portraits

CONTAINED IN THE NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY OF DISTINGUISHED AMERICANS.

Portraits, Vol. 1.	*Author of Biography.*
George Washington	J. Herring.
Martha Washington	G. W. P. Custis.
Charles Carroll, of Carrollton	J. Herring.
Nathaniel Greene	J. Herring.
Anthony Wayne	J. Herring.
William Moultrie	J. Herring.
Israel Putnam	James Thacher.
Timothy Pickering	Rev. C. W. Upham.
Isaac Shelby	Charles G. Todd.
Aaron Ogden. Autobiography adapted by J. Herring.	
John Marshall	Hon. Joseph Story.
Edward Shippen	Hon. Joseph Hopkinson.
Jonathan Williams	Samuel Rush.
Daniel D. Tompkins	W. P. Crosby.
Henry Clay	J. Herring.
Andrew Jackson	Rev. John Hall.
Daniel Webster	Professor Tieknor, of Howard.
William Wirt	P. Cruse.
Lewis Cass	A.
Thomas Macdonough	S. L. Knapp.
Joel R. Poinsett	Robert Walsh.
Josiah S. Johnson	H. D. Gilpin.
Edward Livingston	H. D. Gilpin.
Louis McLane	A.
William White, D. D.	Rev. Dr. Schroeder.
Timothy Dwight, D. D.	W. P. Crosby.
Joel Barlow	W. P. Crosby.
John Trumbull	J. Herring.
Gilbert Stuart	W. Dunlap.
Samuel L. Mitchell, M. D.	J. W. Francis, M. D.
Washington Irving	Prof. Kenwick, of Columbia College.
Catharine M. Sedgwick	A.
J. Fenimore Cooper	James E. Dekay, M. D.
Portraits, Vol. 2.	*Author of Biography.*
Benjamin Franklin	John Jay Smith.
Thomas Jefferson	H. D. Gilpin.
John Hancock	B. B. Thatcher.
John Jay	J. Herring.
Patrick Henry	T. A. Budd.
Joseph Warren	J. Herring.
Henry Knox	B. B. Thatcher.
Benjamin Lincoln	B. B. Thatcher.
David Wooster	T. Pitkin.
Philip Schuyler	Chancellor Kent.
Alexander Hamilton	Chancellor Kent.
John E. Howard	B. Howard.
Otho H. Williams	Gen. Samuel Smith.
John Brooks	Edward Everett.
Francis Barber	Maj. ——, Elizabethtown, N. J.
John Barry	T. A. Budd.
Daniel Boone	Dr. Caruthers, of Virginia.
David Rittenhouse	John Jay Smith.
David Humphrey	Baldwin, of New Haven, Conn.
Edward Preble	B. B. Thatcher.
Oliver H. Perry	S. L. Knapp.
Jacob Brown	J. A. Dix.
De Witt Clinton	Dr. S. R. Beck.
James A. Bayard	R. H. Bayard.
John C. Calhoun	F. Markoe.
Robert Y. Hayne	H. L. Pinckney and C. Raquet.
William Gaston	Jo. Seawell Jones.
Levi Woodbury	R. Ela.
Martin Van Buren	
Noah Webster	
Caspar Wistar	
David Hosack	
James Kent	
Charles Ewing	
George Wolf	
Portraits, Vol. 3.	
James Madison	
Francis Hopkinson	Joseph Hopkinson.
Elias Boudinot	Dr. B. McCready.
Benjamin Rush, M. D.	Samuel Rush.
David Ramsay, M. D.	Hon. Robert Y. Hayne.
Arthur St. Clair	E. D. Ingraham.
Lachlan McIntosh	T. Spalding, of Sapelo Island.
Daniel Morgan	Major Neville.
Francis Marion	J. Herring.
Andrew Pickens	Hon. F. W. Pickens.
Henry Lea	Dr. McCready.
William A. Washington	John Jay Smith
Morgan Lewis	J. Herring.
Benjamin Tallmadge	J. Herring.
James Jackson	Col. Joseph Jackson.
William R. Davie	A. H. Davie.
John Paul Jones	Th. McK. Pettit.
Richard Dale	Th. McK. Pettit.
William Bainbridge	J. Herring.
Stephen Decatur	J. Herring.
Fisher Ames	Dr. McCready.
Rufus King	J. Herring.
Stephen Van Rensselaer	N. B. Blunt.
William Pinckney	J. H. Lamman.
Lindley Murray	John Griscom.
Charles Brockden Brown	W. Dunlap.
Robert Fulton	N. B. Blunt.
Joseph Story	Professor Greenleaf, Cambridge.
William Henry Harrison	Morgan Neville, of Ohio.
Martin Van Buren	H. D. Gilpin.
Mahlon Dickerson	Autobiography adapted by J. H.
Felix Grundy	Virgil Maxcey.
Portraits, Vol. 4.	*Authors of Biography.*
John Adams	John Quincy Adams.
Abigail Adams	John Quincy Adams.
Samuel Adams	J. Herring.
Jonathan Trumbull	J. Herring.
John Rutledge	Dr. Ramsay.
Henry Laurens	J. Herring.
Thomas Sumter	Dr. McCready.
Richard Montgomery	John Jay Smith.
Charles Cotesworth Pinckney	Col. James Lynah.
Thomas Pinckney	J. Herring.
Oliver Ellsworth	Mrs. L. H. Sigourney.
Thomas Mifflin	T. A. Budd.
Thomas McKean	T. A. Budd.
Robert Morris	J. Herring.
Joseph Habersham	Richard W. Habersham.
Mordecai Gist	Dr. J. P. Cooke,
George Rogers Clark	J. Herring.
Simon Kenton	John Jay Smith.
Joshua Barney	E. D. Ingraham.
Luther Martin	J. H. Lamman.
Samuel Chase	C. F. Mayer.
Abraham Baldwin	Joel Barlow and Hon. H. Baldwin.
Robert R. Livingston	Dr. J. W. Francis.
John Quincy Adams	Rev. C. W. Upham.
Louisa Catharine Adams	A.
William H. Crawford	Dudley.
Hugh Lawson White	J. Herring.
John Randolph	E. D. Ingraham.
William C. C. Claiborne	W. C. C. Claiborne.
John McLean	
Edward Everett	Rev. O. W. B.
Thomas Say	Dr. B. M.
Nathaniel Bowditch, LL.D., F.R.S.	J. H.
Philip S. Physick, M. D.	W. E. Horner.
John W. Francis, M. D.	
Lydia H. Sigourney	Mrs. S. J.
Winfield Scott	Dr. Mc
Edmund P. Gaines	Col. Wat
Nicholas Biddle	Hon. R. T. C

PHILADELPHIA, October 26,

Mr. John Jay Smith:

DEAR SIR: The above is a correct list of the portraits and the biography written for the National Portrait Gallery as copied from the one made by father for himself in his own handwriting. I delayed sending it to you until this time, in order to ascertain, if possible, the meaning of the letters after some of the memoirs. A week or two since I met the only persons who, as I thought, would be able to give any information on the subject. They could not speak with certainty, but supposed they had strong presumptive evidence for thinking those letters marked were written by the individuals them[selves] so that they were really autobiographical sketches. I wish to thank you very heartily for the suggestion which led to inquiries of so much interest and gratification to myself. Very respectfully yours,

MRS. JOHN F. KEEN.

New books issued from the American press have equal value: the portraits, which it would be now impossible to get together, are all authentic, and they will yet assist to form national galleries in many States of the Union. Book collectors should not permit a single copy to escape them.

I cannot close this communication to an editor who is doing much to perpetuate the characters of the great men who succeeded these of Mr. Longacre's gallery, without relating one or two anecdotes which pertain, to my own knowledge, to this publication, and were familiar to me at the time. The labor of procuring the portraits was very great, and as each had to be brought to the burin of the engraver, some idea of the time, trouble, and expense involved may be conceived.

Then came the correspondence to find person to write the biographies, the waiting for copy, the correction of long distances and often delayed encounter labor such as th[e]

BOOKS,

life proved for a long time a difficult one to procure. He had been a most useful man in setting the ball of the Revolution in motion by his speeches and his writings. The "Farmers' Letters" will live as long as those days in which they were written are commemorated; but Governor Dickinson thought the Declaration rather premature, and never signed the document. His eldest daughter, Sally Norris Dickinson, had a morbid feeling that his character might be misunderstood, and thus instead of giving up his papers to prove his patriotism she jealously kept them stored away. A connection and intimate friend of my own saw strategy was needed to unearth these treasures. A lawyer of eminence and great ability, the late Thomas A. Budd, Esq., of the Philadelphia bar, was selected to write the life of John Dickinson, but how to get the documents was a question not easy to solve. We took a deputation of rather venerable and respectable aspect, by appointment, to solicit the great favor. Nervous trepidation reigned in the large Quaker parlor for a long time. The lady yielded, however, at last, on condition that the proofs should be sent to her. A carriage car next day bore away some five or six parcels and a few boxes of precious papers. The work was done, and well done, by Mr. Budd. [illegible] pages are more interesting or valuable in [illegible] light.

Sometimes an engraving was made [illegible] preparation was made for the autograph, and more than once before any material [illegible] was the case with [illegible] Boone's early Western [illegible] portrait obtained at [illegible] West, but there was [illegible] any, except a vague page [illegible] graphy and worse Eng[illegible] despair at the thought [illegible] he applied to [illegible] ponderous [illegible] whole Revolutionary [illegible] letters, and [illegible] fore old [illegible] ing over [illegible] long an [illegible] correspondent.

It was [illegible] ring to find [illegible] Ramsay. I [illegible] reader kept to [illegible] the Wash[illegible] region now. [illegible] order of great [illegible] the independence, [illegible] where [illegible] great names.

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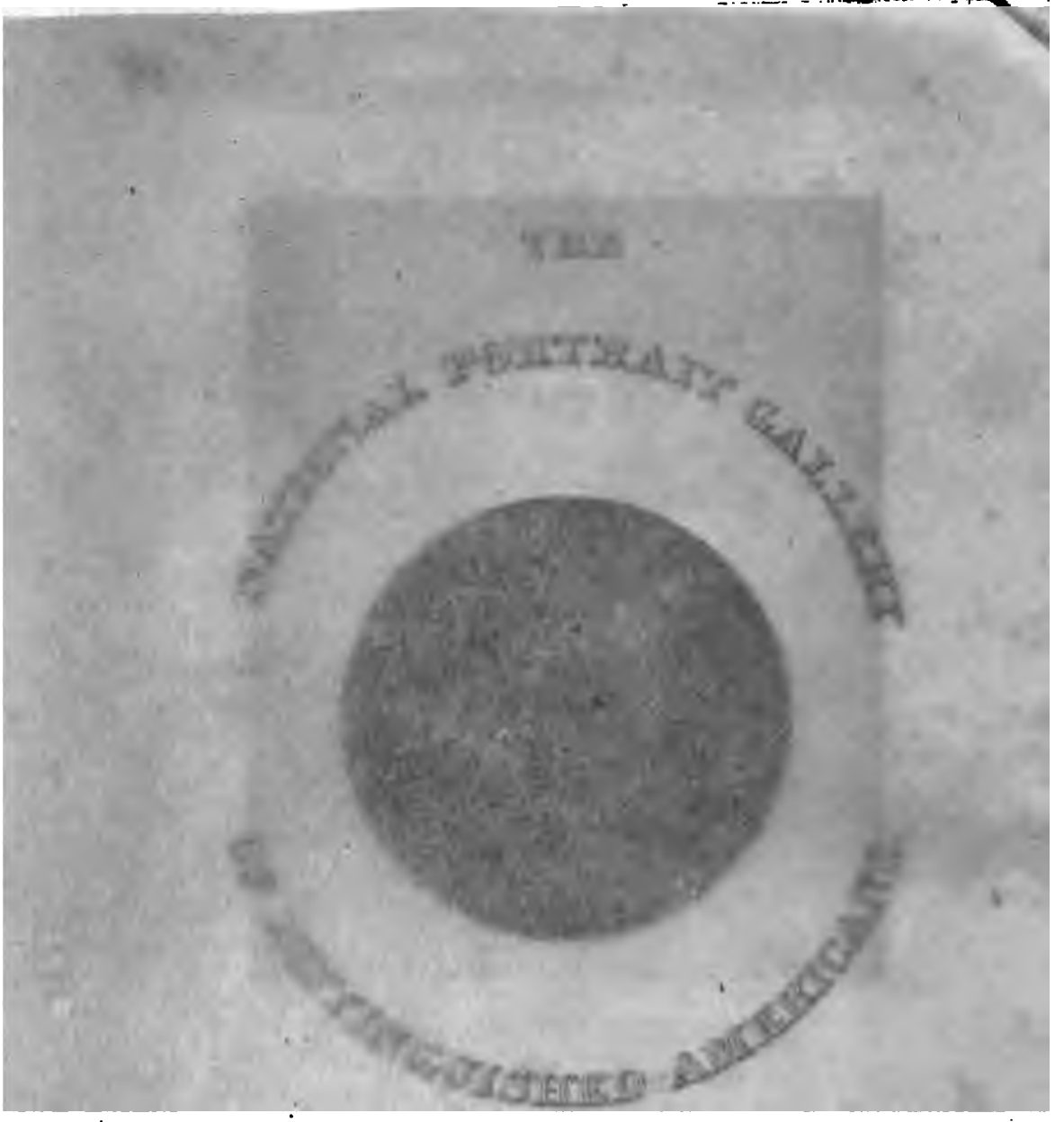
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THE

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1834.

THE

NATIONAL

PORTRAIT GALLERY

OF

DISTINGUISHED AMERICANS.

CONDUCTED BY

JAMES B. LONGACRE, PHILADELPHIA; AND JAMES HERRING, NEW YORK:

Under the Superintendence of the American Academy of the Fine Arts.

VOLUME I.

" These are deeds which should not pass away,
And names that must not wither, though the earth
Forgets her empires with a just decay,
The enslavers and the enslaved, their death and birth."

PHILADELPHIA, HENRY PERKINS, 159 CHESTNUT STREET.
NEW YORK, MONSON BANCROFT, 389 BROADWAY.
LONDON, O. RICH, 12 RED LION SQUARE.
1834.

Entered according to the act of congress, in the year 1833, by JAMES HERRING, in the clerk's office of the district court of the southern district of New York.

ADDRESS.

THE first volume of the NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY OF DISTINGUISHED AMERICANS is now presented to that public, whose annals it is designed to illustrate, and whose favour its conductors have the proud satisfaction to know they have not erringly anticipated.

It is, therefore, with no ordinary feelings they meet their friends and patrons on this occasion, and tender their grateful acknowledgements of the cordial and cheering support their enterprise has received from their countrymen.

The fate of some earlier attempts of a kindred character, cast a shadow upon the first annunciation of their purpose with a disheartening admonition; but, with the advancement of art, a more auspicious era has dawned, and the American people now display a becoming solicitude for the preservation of the relics of their own glory.

The enterprise presents the loftiest appeal to national honour and self respect, as an effort at once to preserve the features, and to rescue, from the wasting hand of time, the memory of those whose noble deeds, exalted fame, or eminent virtues, have shed a lustre upon their age. The value of such a collection of portraits has been well expressed by a writer of the last century,* who says, "In every age and nation distinguished for arts and learning, the inclination of transmitting the memory and even the features of illustrious persons to posterity, has uniformly prevailed. The greatest poets, orators and historians, were contemporaries with the most celebrated painters, statuaries, and engravers of gems and medals; and the desire to be acquainted with a man's aspect, has ever risen in proportion to the known excellence of his character, and the admiration of his writings."

With regard to the execution of their undertaking, the conductors of the National Portrait Gallery are happily spared the necessity of

* Granger.

commenting upon their own labours, by the prevailing sentiments of approbation which it has elicited; and when it is remembered, by how severe a test the infant arts of our country are tried, from the general circulation among us of the *chef d'œuvres* of European art, developed in the maturity of strength in similar departments, it is difficult to repress the glow of exultation which is warranted by a successful essay.

So far, however, as exertion to deserve the praise awarded them is concerned, the conductors of the work can assure their friends it has not been cheaply earned. At the outset, difficulties were anticipated, yet not equal to those which have been met. The great extent of our territory, with the migratory habits of our people, has scattered far and wide the materials requisite for the work, both pictorial and literary—and it is often that only by patient and persevering effort, they can be obtained, or rendered available. Impediments, of nearly equal magnitude, have been encountered in the manufacture of the work, for which no similar undertaking had prepared the way; and whatever confidence the projectors of this may have had in the efficiency of their own arrangements, the history of other failures was too generally known, and too freshly remembered by the people, to whom their appeal was necessarily made, to prevent their early professions from being received without distrust, which could only be removed by the accomplishment of their promises. What they have been able to achieve thus far, is now before the public, on whose candid estimate they confidently rest their claims for continued and increased support towards the future portions of the work.

To the numerous contributors to the literary portion of this work, from Maine to Kentucky, we are bound to render our acknowledgements of gratitude; and for the ready permission to use their pictures, granted by the corporations of the cities of New York and Boston; of Yale College; the New York Lyceum; the Massachusetts Historical Society;—to Mr Peale, the liberal proprietor of the Delaplaine collection;—to Colonel Trumbull, Mr Sully, Mr Harding, Mr Leslie, Miss Goodrich, Mr Ingham, and, indeed, to all the painters, whose aid has been cheerfully lent to us during the past year, we tender our warmest thanks.

JAMES B. LONGACRE.
JAMES HERRING.

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GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Our commonwealth possesses no richer treasure than the fair fame of her children. In the revolutions of empires, the present institutions of our land may perish, and new ones, perhaps more perfect, may arise; but the glory of our national existence cannot pass away, so long as the names of those who, in it, enlarged the boundaries of knowledge, gave tone to its morals, framed its laws, or fought its battles, are remembered with gratitude. The men who stamp the impressions of their genius or their virtues on their own times, influence also those which follow, and they become the benefactors of after ages and of remote nations. Of such the memorials should be carefully collected and preserved; and Americans, above all others, owe it to their country and to the world to perpetuate such records, while it is possible to separate truth from fiction, in all that relates to those who laid the foundation of the republic—who have sustained it by their wisdom, or adorned it by their talents. It should be constantly borne in mind that our country stands conspicuous among nations, as a fair daughter amidst a family of elder sons; that as a nation it has passed through no age of fabulous obscurity, nor useless years of feeble infancy, but stepped forth at maturity, in the panoply of war, like Minerva from the brain of Jove. In its history there is no blank; it is full of striking incidents, of original theories, and of bold experiments. In its government it has exhibited, and is still demonstrating to the world, under new and peculiar aspects, the ability of men to rule themselves, and to protect their own rights without injury to the rights of others. The men whose names are inscribed with honor on the pages of American history, were fitted to the times and the occasions which called them forth; they were men of iron nerves and fearless hearts, of devoted action and incorruptible integrity, of splendid talents and practical common sense; who lived for the glory of their country and the happiness of their race. Of these, there is one "first in the hearts of his countrymen;" as

——————————— "The first
In every public duty ———————
Conspicuous like an oak of healthiest bough,
Deep rooted in his country's love he stood." POLLOCK.

GEORGE WASHINGTON was born at Bridge's Creek, Westmoreland county, Virginia, on the 22d of February, 1732. Before he was ten years old, he was deprived of the guidance and example of an excellent father; but the judicious economy and prudent affection of his remaining parent provided for him instruction in the useful branches of knowledge, and above all, she trained him to a love of truth, and successfully cultivated that high moral sense which characterized his actions from his youth. There is no doubt that to the careful culture bestowed by his affectionate mother, the *goodness* and *greatness* of WASHINGTON are to be ascribed. And we will here call the attention of the reader to the fact, which bears honorable testimony to the female character, that a large proportion of the distinguished men whose names adorn the history of our country, were left to the care of their widowed mothers at a very early age.

"This tells to mothers what a holy charge
Is theirs,— with what a kingly power their love
Might rule the fountain of the new born mind—
Warns them to wake at early dawn, and sow
Good seed before the world doth sow its tares." MRS. SIGOURNEY.

At the age of fifteen WASHINGTON received the appointment of midshipman in the British navy, but surrendered it at the earnest desire of his mother. He afterwards practised the profession of a surveyor, and when nineteen, he held, for a short time, the appointment of adjutant general, with the rank of major, in the forces of the colony.

In 1753 the French began to execute a project they had some time meditated, which was, to connect their Canadian possessions with Louisiana, by a line of posts from the lakes to the mouth of the Ohio. They marched a force into the country, and erected a fort on the Alleghany river; but these measures being regarded as encroachments on the rights of Great Britain, the lieutenant governor of Virginia, Dinwiddie, determined to require their withdrawal, and selected WASHINGTON for the performance of the hazardous enterprise of traversing the wilderness and making the demand. This journey was performed in the depth of winter. On his route he examined the country, noted the strongest military positions,

secured the friendship of the Indian tribes, and made himself acquainted with the force and designs of the French. On his return he presented a journal of his progress and observations as part of his report, which, being published and extensively circulated, was read with interest in all the colonies, and gave him a prominent place in the regard of the public.

As the French were determined to hold the country west of the mountains, the legislature of Virginia began to take measures for the maintenance of the British claim. They accordingly raised a regiment, and appointed WASHINGTON lieutenant colonel. Early in the spring, he marched with two companies in advance to the Great Meadows, where he learned from some friendly Indians, that the French had attacked and dispersed a party of workmen who were erecting a fort on the south eastern branch of the Ohio, and were themselves building a fortification at the confluence of the Alleghany and Monongahela, and that a detachment were on their march towards him, apparently with hostile intentions; these he surrounded in their encampment at night, and at break of day, his troops, after delivering one fire, which killed the French commander, captured the whole party, except one man. Being joined soon after by the residue of the regiment, and a few other troops, making an aggregate of somewhat less than four hundred men, they erected a small stockade fort; here he was attacked by twelve hundred French and Indians, and after a brave resistance from ten in the morning until night, he capitulated. The assembly of Virginia voted their thanks for the gallantry and good conduct displayed on this occasion.

In the winter of 1754, orders were received from England, that officers of the royal troops should take rank over provincial officers of the same grade, without regard to seniority; on this, WASHINGTON resigned his commission with indignation, and withdrew to Mount Vernon. From this retirement he was tempted by an invitation from General Braddock, to serve as a volunteer aid-de-camp in the campaign of 1755. The experience and advice of WASHINGTON might have been peculiarly valuable to the general, had he known its worth; but that officer, unused to the march of an army through the wilderness, refused to dispense with a cumbrous *attirail*, or to adapt his mode of warfare to the state of the country; the consequence was, his army was defeated, and he lost his life. Notwithstanding the unfortunate result of the expedition, the bravery and admirable conduct of WASHINGTON, in covering the retreat of the army, received the commendation of the wounded general, and led

to his appointment as commander-in-chief of all the Virginia forces. Nearly three years, with less than one thousand provincial troops, aided occasionally by militia, he was expected to protect a frontier of near four hundred miles in extent; but his force was inadequate to the duty required, and the distressed inhabitants of the frontiers either fled or fell before the savage foe, until the Blue ridge became the boundary of settlement. In the expedition against Fort du Quesne, in 1758, he served under General Forbes; and after a succession of arduous duties, when the country was relieved from immediate danger, he resigned his commission, to the great regret of the officers of the army, both British and provincial. They who had seen service with him in the wilderness, knew the value of his experience and prudent counsels, and although it had been too humiliating to the pride of those who had gathered laurels in the fields of Europe to follow the advice of a provincial officer, yet in the judgement of his countrymen, he retired with an increased military reputation.

From the fields of his early fame, he turned his attention to the peaceful pursuits of agriculture, and the enjoyment of domestic life. Having inherited from his brother the Mount Vernon estate, he took possession of it, and married a lady of whom we shall hereafter speak more particularly. The ensuing fifteen years were chiefly passed on the banks of the Potomac, in the improving of his estate, occasionally exercising the functions of a justice of the peace, or of a representative in the provincial legislature, until the general congress first assembled in Philadelphia. Like the years of early life, we must pass too hastily forward to more momentous scenes to note the progress of this period more particularly.

Although Virginia had had her share of vexations, which had, at intervals, agitated the colony nearly a century, all had been forgotten on the approach of hostile feet; British and provincial blood had flowed together on the same field in the common cause, and by the union of American and British valor, over the whole country, from the ocean to the northern lakes, the union flag of Britain waved triumphantly. Peace and security brought joy and harmony to the people; and had the authority of the mother country received a liberal construction from its rulers, it is probable that the love and allegiance of the colonists might have been confirmed; but a spirit of domination prevailed, and was resisted; power was applied to enforce obedience, but it only aggravated the evil by imbittering the spirits of a people, who felt themselves to be no longer children, and that

as such they were not regarded. The principle contended for by the parliament was, the absolute "power and right of Great Britain to bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever." Virginia was not less ready than the other colonies to contest that right, and the house of burgesses declared, that "no power on earth has a right to impose taxes on the people, or take the smallest portion of their property, without their consent, given by their representatives in parliament." The parties were thus at issue, and the most zealous exertions were made to defend "THE AMERICAN CAUSE."

When the first intelligence of "the Boston port bill" was received in Virginia, the legislature, which was then in session, entered a solemn protest against it on their journal, and appointed the first of June, 1774, the day on which it was to go into operation, as a day of fasting and prayer. That day, indeed, throughout the country, was a day of humiliation and mourning. Whilst engaged in these proceedings, they were hastily summoned by the governor to the council chamber, and suddenly dissolved. The next day, the 28th of May, 1774, the members met, and recommended the appointing of deputies from the several colonies to meet in congress to deliberate on the measures which the general interests required. Deputies were accordingly appointed, and congress assembled in Philadelphia on the ensuing 4th of September. One of these deputies was GEORGE WASHINGTON. The conspicuous part he had borne in the late wars, had indicated him as the most competent person to be placed at the head of the independent companies formed in Virginia, and when he took his seat in the general congress he was regarded as the *soldier of America*. He was appointed on all committees in which military knowledge was requisite, and when it was determined to appoint a commander-in-chief, he was unanimously chosen. He accepted the appointment with great diffidence, and declined all compensation beyond the payment of his expenses.

He proceeded to Cambridge, near Boston, without delay, and entered on the arduous duties of his station about the 1st of July, 1775. At this time the British army, under General Howe, was entrenched in two divisions, at Roxbury Neck and Bunker Hill: the Americans were encamped on the numerous hills around Boston, their right extending towards Dorchester, their left covered by the Medford river. The commander-in-chief found himself at the head of about fourteen thousand five hundred men, variously armed, without cannon, with few bayonets, and but a small supply of powder; the officers, with few exceptions, without experience, and the

soldiers without discipline. All these defects were to be remedied before offensive operations could commence. The emergency required all the firmness, industry, and perseverance of WASHINGTON; and although he was indefatigable in his exertions, the organization of the army and the collecting of munitions occupied the remainder of the summer and the following autumn.

In the mean time the British army was closely blockaded in Boston, and although it suffered much for supplies, remained inactive. Towards the close of the year a new subject of anxiety arose; the time of service of the troops would expire with the year, and the army was to be replaced by another, in the presence of a disciplined enemy. To raise another army, even for one year's service, was attended with many difficulties. The enthusiastic ardor which had brought the first force into the field had abated; the recollections of home had revived sweet visions of domestic comfort, and the wish to revisit relatives and friends often prevailed over a sense of duty. As the year declined the army gradually melted away, and at the beginning of 1776 the new enlistments scarcely equalled the number of the British troops in Boston. Still, the public, themselves deceived as well as the enemy by the exaggerated representations of WASHINGTON'S offensive means, were impatiently looking for active measures. The commander was not insensible to the effects of his apparent inactivity on the public mind, but it would have been ruin to have explained the cause. He was determined to expel the enemy from Boston as soon as a favorable opportunity should present, and his views being known to congress, that body authorized him to make an attack "in any way he might think expedient, notwithstanding the town and property in it might be thereby destroyed." The general assured congress that an attempt would be made the first moment he should perceive a probability of success, and prayed them to believe that circumstances, not inclination on his part, occasioned the delay. "It is not," said he, "in the pages of history to furnish a case like ours. To maintain a post within musket shot of the enemy for six months together without ammunition; and at the same time, to disband one army and recruit another within that distance of twenty odd British regiments, is more than, probably, was ever attempted. But if we succeed as well in the latter, as we have hitherto done in the former, I shall think it the most fortunate event in my whole life." About the middle of February the general summoned a council, and submitted the subject of attacking the enemy in Boston by marching over the ice, which was then

firm enough to bear the troops, but they gave, with regret, nearly an unanimous opinion against it. At length, after having received a small additional supply of powder, he determined to fortify Dorchester heights, which would compel the enemy to fight or abandon the town. He detached a sufficient force in the night of the 4th of March to take possession; before morning the breastwork was formed and the cannon mounted. When the morning light revealed the new entrenchment to the British, they opened a fire upon it, which was promptly returned; Lord Percy was then ordered, with about three thousand men, to dislodge the Americans; but they were delayed by a storm until the works were so strengthened that it was deemed advisable to let them alone. General Howe then prepared to evacuate Boston; and WASHINGTON, confidently believing that New York would be the next point of attack, detached a part of the army towards that place, whilst he continued to make approaches towards Boston with the remaining troops. The British evacuated the town on the 17th of March, and in a few days left the harbor. WASHINGTON, with the main body of his army, arrived in New York on the 14th of April, and pressed forward the defences of the city. Many of the inhabitants of New York were disaffected to the American cause, and to add to the embarrassments the commander already experienced, a part of his own guard was seduced to seize his person and deliver him to the enemy, but the plot being discovered, some of the conspirators were executed.

Early in July the British army landed on Staten Island, eight miles below the city of New York, where they remained about three weeks, and received large reinforcements of German troops. They then passed over the Narrows to Long Island, and pushed their detachments across the country through Flatlands towards the sound. These being opposed by a division under Generals Sullivan and Lord Stirling, a severe contest ensued, but the British right having outflanked the left of the Americans, the latter suffered a total defeat, and took shelter within the lines at Brooklyn, which the enemy immediately invested and prepared to assault, believing them to be more formidable than they really were. WASHINGTON had seen the latter part of this battle, and unwilling to hazard the loss of that whole division, he determined to withdraw it. This he effected in the night after the battle with such secrecy and despatch, that the enemy were first aware of their retreat, when they perceived the rear guard crossing the East river in the morning. From the commencement of the action on the 27th, until the last boat left Brook-

.yn on the morning of the 29th, WASHINGTON was without rest or sleep; and was most of the time on horseback. The British army were within musket shot of the lines, yet such was the silence and order preserved, that nine thousand men, with their arms and ammunition, and most of the provisions and cannon, were conveyed across a river half a mile broad, without confusion or interruption. The skilful execution of this masterly retreat has been extolled by all writers on the subject. It now became necessary to evacuate New York; and after a short stand at Kingsbridge, the American army took a position at Whiteplains. Here a battle was fought which was not decisive; and while General Howe was waiting for a reinforcement, WASHINGTON took another position, which the British commander considered too strong to be attempted, and, after endeavoring in vain to draw on an engagement on more favorable terms, he changed his plan of operations, marched down the Hudson, and captured fort Washington, on York island, making about two thousand prisoners. This was a serious blow to the American cause, and rendered an immediate retreat across the river imperative. Lord Cornwallis, with a large force, followed so close in the rear of the feeble remnant of an army which accompanied WASHINGTON into New Jersey, that Fort Lee, on that side of the river, was hastily abandoned, and with it nearly all the artillery and baggage.

It was now late in November; most of the New England militia had returned home, their term of service having expired; on the 1st of December the Maryland and Jersey levies availed themselves of the same right at Brunswick, even while the enemy were in sight; the loss of their baggage, sickness, and fatigue, rendered them impatient, and for a time overcame every other consideration. The continental troops, wasted daily by disease and desertion, until the *grand army*, on which hung the destinies of this continent, was reduced to three thousand men, without tents or camp equipage, half naked and bare-footed, disheartened by misfortunes, and even hope afar off. The spirit of the commander, sustained by the resolution and firmness of his officers, carried him through this scene of suffering with a countenance of calm self-possession, which saved the army from immediate dissolution. On the 8th of December he crossed the Delaware, and secured all the boats to prevent the passage of the enemy. The British army entered Trenton as the last boat of the Americans left it. There General Howe abandoned the pursuit until the ice should bridge the river; meanwhile he cantoned his army in detachments in the towns along the left bank of

the Delaware, and at Trenton and New Brunswick. WASHINGTON, whilst gathering strength by calling in the distant divisions and volunteers, with secret exultation watched the detached corps of the British and Hessians, and he concerted with Generals Cadwallader and Irving, a simultaneous attack on three of them. That which was conducted by the commander-in-chief, was alone successful. His troops began to cross the Delaware a few miles above Trenton, about dusk on the 25th of December, when it was believed the enemy would be enjoying the festive anniversary in confidence of safety. The night was dark and very cold, and the passage was so retarded by a high wind, a swift current and masses of floating ice, that it was four o'clock in the morning before they could be formed on the Jersey shore. The attack was made in two columns about day-break; a violent snow storm driving directly in the faces of the assailants at the time. The enemy made a momentary show of resistance by a wild and ill-directed fire from their quarters, and attempted to form on the main street, which was prevented by the fire of six pieces of artillery. "When Forrest's battery was opened," says General Wilkinson, "the general kept on the left, and advancing with it, giving objects of direction to his fire; his position was an exposed one, and he was frequently entreated to fall back, of which he took no notice; he had turned the guns on the retreating enemy, when to an order for the discharge of cannister, Captain Forrest observed—'Sir, they have struck.' 'Struck!' replied the general. 'Yes,' said Forrest, 'their colors are down.' 'So they are,' observed the chief, and galloped towards them." A troop of British dragoons, and about five hundred infantry, fled down the river. The main body, after endeavoring to escape by the right towards Princeton, surrendered on a summons from the general. The killed and wounded of the Americans amounted to only ten. The Hessian colonel, Rahl, with six other officers and about forty men, were killed, and twenty-three officers and nearly one thousand men, made prisoners, with their arms and accoutrements, cannon, &c., all which were safely conveyed across the Delaware.

This achievement changed the aspect of the war, raised the desponding spirits of the people, and inspired the army with renewed zeal. The prisoners having been disposed of, WASHINGTON returned to Trenton. Cornwallis, with an army whose strength gave him a confidence of victory, approached on the afternoon of the 2d of January, 1777, and was met with firmness by detachments of Americans who disputed his approach with great gallantry, but whose only object

was to wear away the day without the risk of a general engagement. Night at length suspended the fight, while the hostile armies were separated only by the narrow stream over which the last detachment of Americans had been forced. The watch fires were lighted, guards doubled, a fatigue party set to work on an entrenchment within hearing of the enemy's sentinels, and every appearance kept up of a determination to abide the result of a battle on the morrow: but at midnight, WASHINGTON moved his little army, by an indirect route, towards Princeton, where was posted a large detachment of British troops. This manœuvre was not discovered by the enemy until morning, when the firing at Princeton announced that the American army was nine miles in their rear, and their magazines at Brunswick in danger of destruction. Early on the morning of the 3d, the advance of the American army encountered the seventeenth British regiment near Princeton, and after a short action, gave way; WASHINGTON now formed his troops into a close column, and placing himself at their head, he led them into action. The struggle was short, but fierce and obstinate. The seventeenth regiment was nearly annihilated; two other British regiments threw themselves into the college, which they soon abandoned, and made a precipitate retreat towards Brunswick with very little loss. They were followed as far as Kingston, and it was the desire of every officer to strike at the enemy's post, at New Brunswick; but the men were too much exhausted by hunger, cold, and fatigue, to warrant the attempt; besides which, the enemy from Trenton were exchanging shot with the rear guard. The army was, therefore, conducted by the way of Rocky Hill and Somerville, to Morristown, where they went into winter quarters. Here, with never more, but often less than one thousand regulars, and about two thousand militia, WASHINGTON kept the enemy in check, although they occupied their line of posts from Brunswick to New York with twenty-five thousand men.

But the spirit of the citizens of New Jersey was now roused to exertion, not only by the successes of their countrymen, but also by the insults, injuries, and cruelty of the foe, particularly the Hessian troops, who had overrun the middle counties of that state. Taught by the bitter experience of the "protection" afforded by that licentious soldiery, the militia of New Jersey watched every opportunity to strike the enemy wherever their foraging or reconnoitering parties appeared, and their frequent success greatly relieved the commander-in-chief, who again had to encounter the evils arising from short enlistments. He had often remonstrated with congress against the

practice of engaging men for a single year, but the prejudices of the country against a standing army were difficult to overcome. Relying, however, on the integrity and wisdom of the commander, he was, two days after the battle of Trenton, invested with full powers to raise sixteen battalions of infantry, three thousand cavalry, three regiments of artillery, and a corps of engineers; to establish their pay, form magazines, appoint and displace officers, under the rank of brigadier-generals, at his pleasure; and to take whatever he might want, wherever he might be, for the use of the army; in short, so far as the army was concerned, his powers were almost dictatorial for the period of six months.

After the British forces had obtained possession of New York, their next object had been Philadelphia; in this they had been hitherto effectually baffled. In the spring of 1777 the attempt was renewed, but all their manœuvres to draw the American army from their advantageous position in the hills were ineffectual, and after some trials of skill between the hostile commanders, the British resorted to their ships. They embarked from New York in July, and entering the Chesapeake, landed at the head of Elk on the 25th of August, and marched towards Philadelphia. At the Brandywine, WASHINGTON opposed their progress on the 10th of September, but was compelled to retire with considerable loss. On the sixteenth, he once more determined to risk an engagement to save Philadelphia, but a storm of unusual violence obliged him to retire, as is stated in our sketch of the life of General Wayne, who commanded the attack. On the twenty-fifth of the same month, the British general took possession of Philadelphia, and soon after formed an encampment at Germantown. For the particulars of the battle which was fought there, we refer (for the sake of avoiding unnecessary repetition) to the life of Colonel Howard. The British forces being concentrated in Philadelphia, and their ships, after some gallant resistance, having obtained command of the Delaware, WASHINGTON took a strong position at White Marsh. Sir William Howe, although in command of a vastly superior force, found himself so much restricted by the proximity of the American army, which shut him out from a rich, and, to him, necessary country for supplies, that he marched out to attack it, hoping to take it by surprise, but he was foiled in his attempt, and returned to Philadelphia. Determined to defend the country from depredation, WASHINGTON selected Valley Forge for winter quarters. Here, while the foe were luxuriating in the comfortable quarters of a populous and wealthy city, the

Americans were sheltered in huts of their own fabrication, and frequently suffered the extremity of want. The commissary's department—imperfectly organized for want of experience—had given cause for frequent complaints; congress, by endeavoring to apply a remedy, increased the distress of the troops, so that very frequently their movements were prevented, and the plans of the commander consequently embarrassed. He frequently and earnestly remonstrated; but the evil was not, and, indeed, could not be immediately obviated, without causing much distress in other quarters. Congress authorized the seizure of provisions within seventy miles of head quarters, and although WASHINGTON was compelled by the necessities of his army to avail himself of the authority, he exercised it with so much reluctance and forbearance, that the wants of the troops were scarcely satisfied, and congress appeared as much dissatisfied with his lenity to the people, as the inhabitants were by what they considered a rigorous exercise of power. At this time a party was formed in congress to remove the commander-in-chief; a few officers of the army encouraged the discontents, by comparing the services of WASHINGTON with those of General Gates,—forgetting, in their zeal, the fact, that the one had repeatedly fought a superior force, and that the other, though a conqueror, had gained his laurels with an army, regulars and militia, of nearly three times the numerical strength of his opponents. The legislature of Pennsylvania, too, added their voice to the dissention, by remonstrating against the army removing into winter quarters. But the machinations of faction were vain. The commander possessed the confidence of the country, and was beloved by the army; and even the troops who had served under General Gates, expressed their indignation at the idea of a change. The only effect produced in the country, was a universal excitement of resentment against those who were believed to be inimical to the chief. Whilst these combinations of intrigue and ambition were progressing, the sufferings of the army were not ameliorated, and they at length drew from the commander a communication to congress of unprecedented plainness and energy. He stated his conviction that unless some great change took place in the commissary's department, the army would inevitably be reduced to starvation or dissolution—that there was not in the camp a single head of cattle to be slaughtered, and not more than twenty-five barrels of flour, nor could the commissary tell when any might be expected; and, that three or four days of bad weather would prove their destruction—that there were near three thousand men in camp

unfit for duty, because they were barefooted and otherwise naked, besides those confined in the hospitals and in farm houses on the same account. He charged it home to those who had remonstrated against his going into winter quarters, that they knew the nakedness of the troops from ocular demonstration. "I can assure those gentlemen," said he, "that it is much easier and less distressing to draw remonstrances in a comfortable room, by a good fireside, than to occupy a cold bleak hill, and sleep under frost and snow without clothes or blankets; however, although they seem to have little feeling for the naked and distressed soldiers, I feel superabundantly for them, and from my soul pity those miseries which it is not in my power either to relieve or prevent."

The exertions which were made by congress and the state governments, at length afforded relief, but in the mean time the army was supported only by the impressments of its detachments.

As the spring approached, unwearied diligence was used to prepare for the ensuing campaign. The troops received instruction from the Baron Steuben, a Prussian officer of great merit, and every possible effort was made to establish order, regularity, and discipline. Early in May, 1778, the intelligence was received, that France had recognised the independence of the United States by treaty, and the additional information, that although war between France and Great Britain had not been formally declared, it had commenced in fact. It was soon after known that a naval force, which had been preparing in the French ports in anticipation of this event, was to act on the American waters. This rendered Philadelphia an unsafe position to the British army, and Sir Henry Clinton, who about this time assumed the command, made immediate preparation to evacuate it.

He crossed the Delaware on the 18th of June, and slowly retired through New Jersey. WASHINGTON put his army in motion, and crossed the river a few miles above, and advanced on a line parallel to his adversary, with whom he was earnestly desirous to close, but in this he was opposed by the advice of his general officers; when, however, the enemy reached Monmouth court house, the spirit of enterprise, which had been so long restrained, determined him not to let the opportunity pass of once more striking at the foe. He accordingly took measures to draw on an engagement, and the battle of Monmouth was fought on the 28th of June. After a keenly contested action, both armies, overpowered by fatigue and the excessive heat of the day, suspended the combat on the approach of evening,

as by mutual consent. WASHINGTON, wrapped in his cloak, lay that night on the field in the midst of his soldiers, ready to renew the battle in the morning; but the enemy, under cover of the night, retired in silence, leaving two hundred and forty-nine of their dead on the field. The British army embarked at Sandy Hook, and sailed to New York, and the Americans once more took a position on the banks of the Hudson.

From this period until the summer of 1780, WASHINGTON was not present at any of the active operations of the war—these being chiefly conducted in the states south of the Chesapeake; in the mean time, "the wretched policy of short enlistments" laid him under the disadvantage of raising a new army every year, under circumstances of difficulty constantly increasing, until it had become almost impossible to raise one at all. The alliance with France had induced the pleasing delusion in the public mind, that the war was in a measure over; that as the independence of the United States had been recognised by that nation, it must soon cease to be disputed by Great Britain. The enthusiasm of the people had subsided—they no longer viewed the cause as one in which each individual had to act a part in person, but as a common cause which all were to pay for; besides which, "the pernicious divisions and factions in congress" were fomented and increased until the prospect of a happy issue appeared to the chief more gloomy than at any former period. "I have seen without despondence," said he in private letter, "even for a moment, the hours which America has styled her gloomy ones; but I have beheld no day since the commencement of hostilities, when I have thought her liberties in such danger as at present. Friends and foes seem now to combine to pull down the goodly fabric we have hitherto been raising at the expense of so much time, blood, and treasure; and unless the bodies politic will exert themselves to bring things back to first principles, correct abuses, and punish our internal foes, inevitable ruin must follow. Indeed, we seem to be verging so fast to destruction, that I am filled with sensations, to which I have been a stranger until these three months. Our enemies behold with exultation and joy, how effectually we labor for their benefit; and from being in a state of absolute despair, and on the point of evacuating America, are now on tiptoe. Nothing, therefore, in my judgment, can save us but a total reformation in our own conduct, or some decisive turn of affairs in Europe. The former, alas! to our shame be it spoken, is less likely to happen than the latter, as it is now consistent with the views of the speculators,

various tribes of money makers, and stock jobbers of all denominations, to continue the war for their own private emolument, without considering that this avarice and thirst for gain must plunge every thing, including themselves, in one common ruin." These causes certainly protracted the war, and encouraged the enemy to persevere. They determined to turn their force against the less populous states of the south, where their friends and foes were more equally balanced, and where opposition from the eastern states must be brought at great expense and loss of time.

But early in May, 1780, a change came over the aspect of affairs, which revived the latent energies and hopes of the country. Lafayette, after serving in the army with WASHINGTON from the battle of Brandywine to that of Monmouth, had returned to France, where he had made such a representation of American transactions, as had inspired his countrymen with his own generous sentiments—now presented himself in the American camp, with the promise from the king of speedy assistance by land and sea. In July, a French squadron under M. de Ternay, with between five and six thousand troops under the Count de Rochambeau, arrived at Newport. That no difficulties might arise between the allied forces, WASHINGTON had been invested with the chief command of his most Christian majesty's troops in America. Whilst the French ships lay at Newport, waiting the arrival of a reinforcement, several British ships of the line joined the fleet at New York, and gave it such a decided superiority, that the admiral sailed to Rhode Island to attack Ternay, and Sir Henry Clinton, with a great number of troops, proceeded some distance up the sound to coöperate by land. WASHINGTON immediately put his army in motion, and rapidly advanced towards Kingsbridge, but the sudden return of the British troops disappointed the hopes which had been formed of seizing New York in their absence. To recover that city, however, was a measure still contemplated by the commander-in-chief, and he took possession of the ground and threw up some works at Dobbs' ferry, ten miles above Kingsbridge; but the French squadron continuing to be blockaded in Newport by a superior force, prevented that concert of action which had been arranged with Rochambeau, and the season for active operations passed away without any important result. The army kept the field until December, when it retired to winter quarters. But winter quarters to the American soldiers, gave but a change of toils and an increase of suffering. The present season, like those which had preceded it, found them deficient of supplies—often

entirely without food, exposed to the rigors of winter without suitable clothing, and without pay for the services of the year. The long suffering patience of the army was at length exhausted, discontent spread through the ranks, venting itself in murmurs and complaints, and finally in an extensive revolt. This is not the place to recount the scenes which followed in consequence of the short sighted policy of the government, and the tardy movements of the states. We would not divert a line of our brief space from the direct purpose in hand, but so intimately blended is the life of WASHINGTON with the history of his time, that one cannot be entirely separated from the other; besides which, it is due to the character of the army of the revolution that the record should here be made, and our sympathy for other nations should never efface the transcript from our hearts—that for manly bearing and patient endurance, under trials and sufferings of every possible variety, in the main body and its divisions—whether in long and painful marches, in hunger, nakedness, poverty, or disease, in hospitals or in prison ships, in battle with the enemy, or in winter quarters, apparently neglected by their countrymen—that army has never been surpassed.

France, South America, Greece, and Poland, have since excited our national sensibilities by their struggles for liberty, and the silent aspirations of our hearts, and the open actions of our hands, have borne testimony to our deep-felt interest in their success; but there is a duty which we owe at home akin to filial gratitude—to treat the survivors of our own revolutionary soldiery with profound veneration, and to lengthen the evening of their days by a kind attention to their wants.

In every situation in which WASHINGTON was placed during the momentous conflict, he adapted his means to the proposed end with equal firmness and judgment, and the winter of 1780–81 as fully tested his qualities as a military commander, under circumstances of peculiar hazard, as any other period of his command. With his army in the condition we have stated, (one half of which dissolved as usual on the first of January,) the main body of the British army in New York, with the Hudson open to their ships, he yet managed to suppress a mutiny; to keep his army in force; to check the operations of the enemy; to carry on an extensive correspondence with his detached officers, numerous influential individuals, and the state governments, by which he obtained funds to pay his soldiers in part; and, in addition, he made time to impress on the court of Versailles his own views of the present and future capabilities of the

country, and particularly pressing the importance of an immediate and ample supply of money, and the maintenance of a naval superiority on the American waters.

As the spring advanced, WASHINGTON's plans were still directed against New York, that being the stronghold of the enemy's power in the northern states; and he confidently believed, if that could be reduced, the war would speedily terminate. For several months a predatory war had been carried on in the lower counties of Virginia by divisions of the British army, under Arnold and Phillips. When Cornwallis advanced from Carolina and took command there about the middle of May, he continued to carry on his operations with vigor, and although he gained no permanent advantage, he destroyed an immense amount of property. About the 1st of June, the campaign opened on the Hudson; the French auxiliaries advanced and formed a junction with the Americans, preparatory to a grand attack on New York. At this time, Sir Henry Clinton, being alarmed at the serious danger which menaced his position, recalled a part of his troops from Virginia; on this, Cornwallis retired to Portsmouth, but a reinforcement of near three thousand European troops arriving at New York, Clinton countermanded his orders, and directed Cornwallis to take a position on the Chesapeake and be ready to act on the neighboring states. A variety of circumstances, beyond the control of the commander-in-chief, rendering the projected enterprise against New York of doubtful expedience, his attention was turned towards the south, and when he learnt that de Grasse, with a large French fleet with three thousand soldiers on board, was to sail from Cape François to the Chesapeake, the naval superiority which would be thus obtained decided him in favor of southern operations. He directed Lafayette so to dispose of the forces in Virginia, that Cornwallis could not escape to Charleston, should he make the attempt; but the British commander, looking towards the sea-board for relief, as well as in compliance with his orders, collected his whole force, and entrenched himself at Yorktown.

WASHINGTON, after providing for the defence of the posts on the Hudson, led his army down the west side of that river, so as to mask his intention by exciting apprehensions for Staten Island, and it was not until he had passed the Delaware, that his real object was suspected by the British commander. When the allied army reached the Chesapeake, the French fleet had already arrived there, and the necessary preparations for the investment of Yorktown being completed in a few days, on the night of the 6th of October, the first parallel

was commenced within six hundred yards of the British lines, and the siege was pressed with such effective vigor, that on the 17th, Cornwallis, finding his position no longer tenable, beat a parley; and on the 19th, surrendered. The army, amounting to seven thousand men, with their arms, military chest, and public stores, were surrendered to WASHINGTON; the ships and seamen to the Count de Grasse. This was the last military achievement in which the commander-in-chief was personally engaged.

Happily for the United States, the people of Great Britain, weary of the protracted and unsuccessful conflict, now became clamorous for peace; the determination of the king and his ministers at length gave way to the popular will; and negotiations were commenced on the basis of the independence of the thirteen provinces. The overruling care of a beneficent providence had been manifested in numerous events of the war, but in none more plainly than in this, that when the means of maintaining an organized resistance failed, they ceased to be necessary. But the prospect of peace and independence was dimmed by the abject poverty of the country, and by the gloomy fears of the course the army might adopt when its reduction should be ordered. For a long time it had been sustained by temporary expedients, and through 1782 almost the whole receipts of the treasury had been devoted to its subsistence alone. To pay the troops was impossible, and yet the public faith had been pledged, not only for their pay, but for half pay for life to the officers. This pledge had retained them in the field to the ruin of their private affairs; but it appeared certain that when they should be disbanded, the funds for that purpose would never be supplied, as the requisite number of "the sovereign states" had not concurred in the measure.

As the negotiations for peace advanced, the irritation of the army increased. WASHINGTON saw the gathering storm, and determined to remain with the troops and give the weight of his influence to preserve the tranquillity of the country, although his presence in the camp had otherwise ceased to be necessary. In a private letter to the secretary of war, after expressing his conviction that the officers would return to private life with alacrity, could they be placed in suitable circumstances, he adds, "when I see such a number of men, goaded by a thousand stings of reflection on the past, and anti cipation of the future, about to be turned into the world, soured by penury, and what they call the ingratitude of the public; involved in debt, without one farthing of money to carry them home, after

having spent the flower of their days, and many of them their patrimonies, in establishing the freedom and independence of their country; and having suffered every thing which human nature is capable of enduring on this side of death. I repeat it, when I reflect on these irritating circumstances, unattended by one thing to sooth their feelings, or brighten the gloomy prospect, I cannot avoid apprehending that a train of evils will follow of a very serious nature."

In December, 1782, when the army was settled in winter quarters near the Hudson, the important crisis approached. A general opinion prevailed that congress possessed neither the power nor the inclination to comply with its engagements to the army, and the officers, with a desire of removing the obnoxious features of the half pay establishment without foregoing their own rights, solicited from congress the payment of the money actually due them, and a commutation of the half pay for a sum in gross. Three months passed away without any prospect of relief; in the mean time the intelligence of peace was received. The irritable temper of the army now seemed to require but a slight impulse to impel it to a haughty demand of justice from the constituted authorities, or to assume the power of redressing their own grievances by some desperate effort. A meeting of the officers was called by an anonymous notice, and an address to the army was privately circulated, which was well calculated to inflame their passions and determine them to immediate action, "courting the auspices and inviting the direction of their illustrious leader." Fortunately the patriotism of "their illustrious leader" was far above the comprehension of that ambition which might have influenced a less noble spirit to "pass the Rubicon." At that moment the destinies of his country were undoubtedly in his keeping, and wisely great in resolution as in action, he turned the threatened evil to the glory of his country. The storm was stilled; the army was disbanded; and on the 4th of December, the chief bid adieu to his officers in New York. Endeared to each other by years of affectionate intercourse in peril and in triumph, the hour of their separation was solemn and affecting; the thoughts and feelings of the party—too intense for utterance—were expressed only by the silent tear, the warm grasp of the hand, and the quick pulsation of heart pressed to heart.

Every duty of the station to which he had been appointed, being now fulfilled, WASHINGTON hastened to Annapolis, where congress was then in session, and on the 23d, at an audience appointed for the purpose, he returned his commission to the hands from which

he had received it. Thus displaying the sublime spectacle of a triumphant warrior in the fulness of his fame, divesting himself of power, and dedicating the laurels he had won, upon the altar of his country. By his skill, firmness, perseverance, and industry; and by the happy union of prudence with courage, and a correct judgment with a spirit of enterprise, he had given liberty, peace, and a name among nations to his country; but by this last act of public virtue, he consummated his own glory, and "changed mankind's idea of political greatness." Every age has had its hero, but as a perfect pattern of pure, disinterested patriotism, WASHINGTON, as yet, remains without a parallel in the annals of the world. To call him *great*, would be to class him with the Alexanders, the Cæsars, and the Fredericks of other nations, he is therefore more justly, appropriately, and affectionately designated as "the father of his country."

WASHINGTON, having retired to Mount Vernon, he devoted his attention to the improvement of his plantation, with a resolution never again to appear in public life. "The scene is at length closed," said he, three days after his arrival there, "I feel myself eased of a load of public care, and hope to spend the remainder of my days in cultivating the affections of good men, and the practice of the domestic virtues." With a mind capable of the most enlarged views, he traced the broad map of his country, and pointed out its capabilities and future greatness. In a letter to the earl of Buchan, written while engaged in promoting some works of immediate utility, he said, "if left undisturbed, we shall open a communication by water with all the lakes northward and westward of us, with which we have territorial connexions; and an inland in a few years more from Rhode Island to Georgia;" at the same time he regarded with attention every improvement in the economy of the farmer.

But the country was not at rest, and WASHINGTON had been too deeply interested in all that concerned it, to be allowed to withdraw his attention entirely from public affairs; indeed, the embarrassments of the government gave him great anxiety. While the general government was dependent on the separate action of thirteen independent state sovereignties, it struggled with difficulties which could not be removed, and it was soon discovered that the whole fabric must fall to ruin, or a new system be adopted. On this subject there existed a diversity of opinions in the country, which rendered the result for a long time doubtful. Tumults, insurrections, and commotions agitated all reflecting men. At length a convention was held at Philadelphia by the representatives of twelve states; WASHINGTON

was unanimously chosen president, and after a session of about four months, the present national constitution was framed, which being afterwards approved by the people of eleven states, became the supreme law.

No sooner were the public in possession of this instrument, than their attention was directed to WASHINGTON as the only man to be placed at the head of the nation. His consent was hard to win; but overcome by the entreaties of personal friends, and in obedience to the voice of the people, he once more gave himself to their service, and was unanimously elected the first president of the United States. "I wish," said he, when his election was announced, "that there may not be reason for regretting the choice, for indeed all I can promise, is to accomplish that which can be done by an honest zeal." Two days after, he "bade adieu to Mount Vernon, to private life, and domestic felicity," and proceeded to the seat of government.

His progress from Alexandria to New York was marked by demonstrations of veneration and affection: the manner of his reception at Trenton, was so truly appropriate and affecting, that it deserves especial notice. In addition to the usual military compliments, the bridge over the creek running through the town was covered by a triumphal arch supported by thirteen pillars, entwined and ornamented with flowers and laurel, and bearing on the front in large gilt letters,

THE DEFENDER OF THE MOTHERS
WILL BE THE
PROTECTOR OF THE DAUGHTERS.

Here were assembled the mothers and daughters, dressed in white, each bearing a basket of flowers, which were strown before the chief, while they sang in chorus,

Welcome, mighty chief, once more
Welcome to this grateful shore;
Now no mercenary foe
Aims again the fatal blow,
Aims *at thee* the fatal blow.

Virgins fair and matrons grave,
Those thy conquering arms did save,
Build for thee triumphal bowers;
Strew, ye fair, his way with flowers,
Strew your hero's way with flowers.

On the 23d of April, 1789, WASHINGTON arrived at New York, and on the 30th was inaugurated in the presence of an immense concourse of citizens, who rent the air with joyous acclamations.

His administration of the new government commenced under the pressure of numerous embarrassments; an empty treasury, millions of debt, domestic agitation, and foreign intrigue. The president filled the departments with able men, solely selected with a reference to justice and public good, and gave that cast to the administration of national affairs, which all his successors—however most of them may have differed from him in abstract opinions—have found it necessary to adopt and practice on great and important occasions.

In the fall of that year WASHINGTON visited the New England states, and experienced great satisfaction in witnessing the prosperous and happy condition of the people; in this tour he omitted Rhode Island, as that state had not then adopted the federal constitution, but he visited it in the following year; after which he retired to Mount Vernon, as the great change in his habits of life, and his close application to the duties of his station, had so much impaired his health, that a respite from official cares was not to be deferred. In 1791, he passed through the southern states, executing on his route the power invested in him of selecting the place for the future capital of the nation.

Although the constitution had been adopted by a majority of the people in all the states, there yet remained a strong party in most of them, jealous of the power of the government of the union, and zealous in their attachments to state sovereignty; men of the highest talents and purest integrity were divided in their opinions on this fundamental principle, which all the improvement in the condition of the country could not reconcile. Domestic prosperity and a few years of tranquillity might have allayed the violence of party excitement, but the turn of European affairs gave it a new impulse and a wider range.

When the French revolution began, it was hailed in America as the dawn of liberty in Europe; and as there were parts of the British treaty of peace which had not been promptly executed by that power, there existed a strong inclination to favor France. WASHINGTON decided on a neutral course, and the friends of the administration on this point, and the opposition, very generally became identified with the federal and anti-federal parties. The firmness and prudence of the president, aided by his weight of character, preserved the country from being precipitated into a war, but it was for a long time doubtful whether he would be able to withstand the tide of popular inclination.

The time for a new election having arrived, WASHINGTON was again unanimously chosen president.

We cannot enter upon the political history of this period, without stepping beyond the limits of our plan, and at last falling short of a satisfactory narrative. Of the sincerity of his opinions, the fact is sufficient that at the call of his country, he surrendered his choice of life, and risking his popularity and influence, as in the revolution he had risked his life and fortune, when all might be lost and, personally, nothing to be gained; of the wisdom of his measures, every succeeding year has borne ample testimony; of the deep, unwavering love he bore his country, his whole life gave evidence. He sought to execute the trust reposed in him by the people, honestly; to give a regular operation to the political machine, without violence and without intrigue. No machiavelian policy, no state trickery was practised; his friends and his foes always knew where to find him, and foreign powers learned to rely as much on his integrity as his own constituents. He had no local partialities to gratify, no local interests to subserve; he thought and acted for the welfare of the whole, as a nation, which was about to take its rank in the scale of empires, and on whose future character and destinies, his administration must have an enduring influence.

When the second term of office was about to expire, WASHINGTON declined a reëlection; and, with an anxiety worthy of his character, to render a lasting benefit to his country, he published a valedictory address, in which he warned, admonished, and advised, with the affectionate earnestness of a father and the sagacity of a sage, to guard against foreign influence, to avoid all interference with European politics, and the baneful violence of party spirit and sectional jealousy; above all, he urged the importance of "cherishing a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to the UNION, as the main pillar in the edifice of independence, the support of tranquillity at home and peace abroad; of safety, prosperity, and liberty."

After witnessing the inauguration of Mr. Adams as his successor in office, WASHINGTON hastened to seek at Mount Vernon that calm felicity, that happy retirement, which he had long fondly anticipated; but the din of war soon broke in upon the tranquil shades of his retreat. The spirit of the veteran soldier was roused by the insults offered to his country by France, and laying aside all considerations of age or ease, he accepted the chief command of the army of the United States, on condition that he should not be called into the field until

his presence became indispensable;—that necessity never occurred, but before peace was restored, WASHINGTON was no more.

On the night of the 13th of December, 1799, (having been exposed to a shower in the morning,) he was attacked by an inflammatory affection of the throat, and in twenty-four hours after, the first luminary of America was removed to a higher, brighter, happier sphere.

The shock of this event fell upon the country with the unexpected suddenness of an earthquake, dismay and affliction suspended all business; all ages and classes united in sorrow, and in demonstrations of veneration and affection.

On the 18th, his remains were deposited in the family vault at Mount Vernon.

Having thus sketched the chief events in the life of WASHINGTON, very little more seems to be required; the value, the importance, the results of that life are before the world. In the place of thirteen scattered, oppressed, and degraded colonies struggling in poverty, and united only by the resolution to be free—we have an empire, rich, powerful, and independent; to found which, he, more than any other individual, contributed.

In life, malice never tarnished his honor, envy forbore to practice her craft; "favored of heaven, he departed without exhibiting the weakness of humanity; magnanimous in death, the darkness of the grave could not obscure his brightness."* "For himself, he had lived long enough to life and to glory; for his fellow citizens, if their prayers could have been answered, he would have been immortal."†

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* Marshall. † Adams.

Engraved by J.B.L. Longacre from an original miniature by Robertson, in possession of G.W.P. Custis Esqr.

MRS. MARTHA WASHINGTON.

Mrs Washington

MRS. MARTHA

MRS. MARTHA WASHINGTON.

DESCENDED from an ancient family, which first migrated to the colony of Virginia, in the person of the Reverend Orlando Jones, a clergyman of Wales: MARTHA DANDRIDGE was born in the county of New Kent, colony of Virginia, in May, 1732. The education of females, in the early days of the colonial settlements, was almost exclusively of a domestic character, and by instructors who were entertained in the principal families, that were too few and too "far between" to admit of the establishment of public schools. Of the early life of MISS DANDRIDGE, we are only able to record, that the young lady excelled in personal charms, which, with pleasing manners, and a general amiability of demeanor, caused her to be distin guished amid the fair ones who usually assembled at the court of Williamsburg, then held by the royal governors of Virginia.

At seventeen years of age, or in 1749, MISS DANDRIDGE was married to Colonel Daniel Parke Custis, of the White House, county of New Kent. This was a match of affection. The father of the bridegroom, the Honorable John Custis, of Arlington, a king's counsellor, had matrimonial views of a more ambitious character for his only son and heir, and was desirous of a connection with the Byrd family, of Westover, Colonel Byrd being, at that time, from his influence and vast possessions, almost a count palatine of Virginia. The counsellor having at length given his consent, the newly married pair settled at the White House, on the banks of the Pamunkey river, where Colonel Custis became an eminently successful planter. The fruits of this marriage were, a girl, who died in infancy, and Daniel, Martha, and John. Daniel was a child of much promise, and it was generally believed, that his untimely death hastened his father to the grave. Martha arrived at womanhood, and died at Mount Vernon in 1770, and John, the father of the biographer,*

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*GEORGE W. P. CUSTIS, Esq., of Arlington, D. C.

perished while in the service of his country, and the suite of the commander-in-chief, at the siege of Yorktown, 1781, aged twenty-seven.

On the decease of her husband, which happened at about middle age, Mrs. Custis found herself at once a very young, and among the very wealthiest widows in the colony. Independently of extensive and valuable landed estates, the colonel left thirty thousand pounds sterling in money, with half that amount to his only daughter, Martha. It is related of this amiable gentleman, that, when on his death bed, he sent for a tenant, to whom, in settling an account, he was due one shilling. The tenant begged that the colonel, who had ever been most kind to his tenantry, would not trouble himself at all about such a trifle, as he, the tenant, had forgotten it long ago. "But I have not," rejoined the just and conscientious landlord, and bidding his creditor take up the coin, which had been purposely placed on his pillow, exclaimed, "Now my accounts are all closed with this world;" and shortly after expired. Mrs. Custis, as sole executrix, managed the extensive landed and pecuniary concerns of the estates with surprising ability, making loans, on mortgage, of moneys, and, through her stewards and agents, conducting the sales or exportation of the crops, to the best possible advantage.

While on the subject of the moneyed concerns of seventy years ago, we hope to be pardoned for a brief digression. The orchard of fine apple trees is yet standing near Bladensburg, that was presented to a Mr. Ross, by the father of the late venerated Charles Carroll of Carrollton, as a recompense for Mr. Ross's having introduced to Mr. Carroll *a good borrower* of his money. A Colonel T., one of the ancient dons of Maryland, being observed riding over the race course of Annapolis in a very disturbed and anxious manner, was accosted by his friends, with a "What 's the matter, colonel? Are you alarmed for the success of your filly, about to start?" "Oh no," replied T., "but I have a thousand pounds by me, to loan, and here have I been riding about the course the whole morning, and not a single borrower can I get for my money." We opine, that the same anxieties would not be long suffered in 1834.

It was in 1758, that an officer, attired in a military undress, and attended by a body servant, tall and militaire as his chief, crossed the ferry called Williams', over the Pamunkey, a branch of the York river. On the boat touching the southern, or New Kent side, the soldier's progress was arrested by one of those personages, who give the best ideal of the Virginia gentleman of the old regime, the very

soul of kindliness and hospitality. It was in vain the soldier urged his business at Williamsburg, important communications to the governor, &c. Mr. Chamberlayne, on whose domain the militaire had just landed, would hear of no excuse. Colonel Washington was a name and character so dear to all the Virginians, that his passing by one of the old castles of Virginia, without calling and partaking of the hospitalities of the host, was entirely out of the question. The colonel, however, did not surrender at discretion, but stoutly maintained his ground, till Chamberlayne bringing up his reserve, in the intimation that he would introduce his friend to a young and charming widow, then beneath his roof, the soldier capitulated, on condition that he should dine, only dine, and then, by pressing his charger and borrowing of the night, he would reach Williamsburg before his excellency could shake off his morning slumbers. Orders were accordingly issued to Bishop, the colonel's body servant and faithful follower, who, together with the fine English charger, had been bequeathed by the dying Braddock to Major Washington, on the famed and fatal field of the Monongahela. Bishop, bred in the school of European discipline, raised his hand to his cap, as much as to say, "Your honor's orders shall be obeyed."

The colonel now proceeded to the mansion, and was introduced to various guests, (for when was a Virginian domicil of the olden time without guests?) and above all, to the charming widow. Tradition relates that they were mutually pleased on this their first interview, nor is it remarkable; they were of an age when impressions are strongest. The lady was fair to behold, of fascinating manners, and splendidly endowed with worldly benefits. The hero, fresh from his early fields, redolent of fame, and with a form on which "every god did seem to set his seal, to give the world assurance of a man."

The morning passed pleasantly away, evening came, with Bishop, true to his orders and firm at his post, holding the favorite charger with the one hand, while the other was waiting to offer the ready stirrup. The sun sank in the horizon, and yet the colonel appeared not. And then the old soldier marvelled at his chief's delay. "'T was strange, 't was passing strange"—surely he was not wont to be a single moment behind his appointments, for he was the most punctual of all punctual men. Meantime, the host enjoyed the scene of the veteran on duty at the gate, while the colonel was so agreeably employed in the parlor; and proclaiming that no guest ever left his house after sunset, his military visiter was, without much difficulty, persuaded to order Bishop to put up the horses for the night. The

sun rode high in the heavens the ensuing day, when the enamored soldier pressed with his spur his charger's side, and speeded on his way to the seat of government, where, having despatched his public business, he retraced his steps, and, at the White House, the engagement took place, with preparations for the marriage.

And much hath the biographer heard of that marriage, from gray-haired domestics, who waited at the board where love made the feast and Washington was the guest. And rare and high was the revelry, at that palmy period of Virginia's festal age; for many were gathered to that marriage, of the good, the great, the gifted, and the gay, while Virginia, with joyous acclamation, hailed in her youthful hero a prosperous and happy bridegroom.

"And so you remember when Colonel Washington came a courting of your mistress?" said the biographer to old Cully, in his hundredth year. "Aye, master, that I do," replied this ancient family servant, who had lived to see five generations; "great times, sir, great times! Shall never see the like again!" "And Washington looked something like a man, a proper man; hey, Cully?" "Never seed the like, sir; never the likes of him, tho' I have seen many in my day: so tall, so straight! and then he sat a horse and rode with such an air! Ah, sir; he was like no one else! Many of the grandest gentlemen, in their gold lace, were at the wedding, but none looked like the man himself!" Strong, indeed, must have been the impressions which the person and manner of Washington made upon the rude, "untutor'd mind" of this poor negro, since the lapse of three quarters of a century had not sufficed to efface them.

The precise date of the marriage, the biographer has been unable to discover, having in vain searched among the records of the vestry of St. Peter's church, New Kent, of which the Reverend Mr. Mossom, a Cambridge scholar, was the rector, and performed the ceremony, it is believed, about 1759. A short time after their marriage, Colonel and Mrs. Washington removed to Mount Vernon on the Potomac, and permanently settled there.

The mansion of Mount Vernon, more than seventy years ago, was a very small building, compared with its present extent, and the numerous out buildings attached to it. The mansion house consisted of four rooms on a floor, forming the centre of the present building, and remained pretty much in that state up to 1774, when Colonel Washington repaired to the first congress in Philadelphia, and from thence to the command-in-chief of the armies of his country, assembled before Cambridge, July, 1775. The commander-in-chief returned

no more to reside at Mount Vernon till after the peace of 1783. MRS. or LADY WASHINGTON, as we shall now call her, such being the appellation she always bore in the army, accompanied the general to the lines before Boston, and witnessed its siege and evacuation. She then returned to Virginia, the subsequent campaigns being of too momentous a character to allow of her accompanying the army.

At the close of each campaign an aid-de-camp repaired to Mount Vernon, to escort the lady to the head-quarters. The arrival of LADY WASHINGTON at camp was an event much anticipated, and was always the signal for the ladies of the general officers to repair to the bosoms of their lords. The arrival of the aid-de-camp, escorting the plain chariot, with the neat postillions in their scarlet and white liveries, was deemed an epoch in the army, and served to diffuse a cheering influence amid the gloom which hung over our destinies at Valley Forge, Morristown, and West Point. LADY WASHINGTON always remained at the head-quarters till the opening of the campaign, and often remarked, in after life, that it had been her fortune to hear the first cannon at the opening, and the last at the closing, of all the campaigns of the revolutionary war. During the whole of that mighty period when we struggled for independence, LADY WASHINGTON preserved her equanimity, together with a degree of cheerfulness that inspired all around her with the brightest hopes for our ultimate success. To her alone a heavy cloud of sorrow hung over the conclusion of the glorious campaign of 1781. Her only child, while attending to his duties as aid-de-camp to the general-in-chief, during the siege of Yorktown, was seized with an attack of the camp fever, then raging to a frightful extent within the enemy's intrenchments. Ardently attached to the cause of his country, having witnessed many of the most important events of the revolutionary contest, from the siege of Boston, in 1775, to the virtual termination of the war in 1781, the sufferer beheld the surrender of the British army on the memorable 19th of October, and was thence removed to Eltham, in New Kent, where he was attended by Dr. Craik, chief of the medical staff. Washington, learning the extreme danger of his step-son, to whom he was greatly attached, privately left the camp before Yorktown, while yet it rang with the shouts of victory, and, attended by a single officer, rode with all speed to Eltham. It was just day dawn when the commander-in-chief sprung from his panting charger, and summoning Dr. Craik to his presence, inquired if there was any hope. Craik shook his head, when the chief, being shown into a private room, threw himself on a bed

absorbed in grief. The poor sufferer, being in his last agonies, soon after expired. The general remained for some time closeted with his lady, then remounted and returned to the camp.

It was after the peace of 1783, that General Washington set in earnest about the improvements in building and laying off the gardens and grounds that now adorn Mount Vernon. He continued in these gratifying employments, occasionally diversified by the pleasures of the chase, till 1787, when he was called to preside in the convention that formed the present constitution, and in 1789, left his beloved retirement to assume the chief magistracy of the union. During the residence of General and MRS. WASHINGTON at Mount Vernon, after the peace of 1783, the ancient mansion, always the seat of hospitality, was crowded with guests. The officers of the French and American armies, with many strangers of distinction, hastened to pay their respects to the victorious general, now merged into the illustrious farmer of Mount Vernon. During these stirring times MRS. WASHINGTON performed the duties of a Virginia housewife, and presided at her well-spread board, with that ease and elegance of manners which always distinguished her. At length the period arrived when General and MRS. WASHINGTON were to leave the delights of retirement, and to enter upon new and elevated scenes of life. The unanimous voice of his country hailed the hero who had so lately led her armies to victory, as the chief magistrate of the young empire about to dawn upon the world.

The president and his lady bid adieu with extreme regret, to the tranquil and happy shades where a few years of repose had, in great measure, effaced the effects of the toils and anxieties of war; where a little Eden had bloomed and flourished under their fostering hands; and where a numerous circle of friends and relatives would sensibly feel the privation of their departure. They departed, and hastened to where duty called the man of his country.

The journey to New York, in 1789, was a continued triumph. The august spectacle at the bridge of Trenton brought tears to the eyes of the chief, and forms one of the most brilliant recollections of the age of Washington.

Arrived at the seat of the federal government, the president and MRS. WASHINGTON formed their establishment upon a scale that, while it partook of all the attributes of our republican institutions, possessed at the same time that degree of dignity and regard for appearances, so necessary to give to our infant republic respect in the eyes of the world. The house was handsomely furnished; the

equipages neat, with horses of the first order; the servants wore the family liveries; and, with the exception of a steward and housekeeper, the whole establishment differed but little from that of a private gentleman. On Tuesdays, from three to four o'clock, the president received the foreign ambassadors and strangers who wished to be introduced to him. On these occasions, and when opening the sessions of congress, the president wore a dress sword. His personal apparel was always remarkable for its being old fashioned, and exceedingly plain and neat. On Thursdays were the congressional dinners, and on Friday nights, MRS. WASHINGTON'S drawing room. The company usually assembled about seven, and rarely staid exceeding ten o'clock. The ladies were seated, and the president passed around the circle, paying his compliments to each. At the drawing rooms, Mrs. Morris always sat at the right of the lady president, and at all the dinners, public or private, at which Robert Morris was a guest, that venerable man was placed at the right of MRS. WASHINGTON. When ladies called at the president's mansion, the habit was for the secretaries and gentlemen of the president's household to hand them to and from their carriages; but when the honored relicts of Greene and Montgomery came to the presidoliad, the president himself performed these complimentary duties.

On the great national festivals of the fourth of July and twenty-second of February, the sages of the revolutionary congress and the officers of the revolutionary army renewed their acquaintance with MRS. WASHINGTON; many and kindly greetings took place, with many a recollection of the days of trial. The Cincinnati, after paying their respects to their chief, were seen to file off toward the parlor, where LADY WASHINGTON was in waiting to receive them, and where Wayne, and Mifflin, and Dickenson, and Stewart, and Moylan, and Hartley, and a host of veterans, were cordially welcomed as old friends, and where many an interesting reminiscence was called up, of the head-quarters and the "times of the revolution."

On Sundays, unless the weather was uncommonly severe, the president and MRS. WASHINGTON attended divine service at Christ church; and in the evenings, the president read to MRS. WASHINGTON, in her chamber, a sermon, or some portion from the sacred writings. No visiters, with the exception of Mr. Speaker Trumbull, were admitted to the presidoliad on Sundays.

There was one description of visiters, however, to be found about the first president's mansion on all days. The old soldiers repaired, as they said, to head-quarters, just to inquire after the health of his

excellency and LADY WASHINGTON. They knew his excellency was of course much engaged; but they would like to see the good lady. One had been a soldier of the life guard; another had been on duty when the British threatened to surprise the head-quarters; a third had witnessed that terrible fellow, Cornwallis, surrender his sword: each one had some touching appeal, with which to introduce himself to the peaceful head-quarters of the presidoliad. All were "kindly bid to stay," were conducted to the steward's apartments, and refreshments set before them; and, after receiving some little token from the lady, with her best wishes for the health and happiness of an old soldier, they went their ways, while blessings upon their revered commander and the good LADY WASHINGTON, were uttered by many a war-worn veteran of the revolution.

In the spring of 1797, General and MRS. WASHINGTON, bidding adieu to public life, took their leave of the seat of government and journeyed to the south, prepared in good earnest to spend the remnant of their days in their beloved retirement of Mount Vernon. The general reassumed with delight his agricultural employments, while the lady bustled again amid her domestic concerns, showing that neither time nor her late elevated station had in any wise impaired her qualifications for a Virginia housewife, and she was now verging upon threescore and ten.

But for Washington to be retired at Mount Vernon or any where else, was out of the question. Crowds which had hailed the victorious general as the deliverer of his country, and called him with acclamation to the chief magistracy of the infant empire, now pressed to his retirement, to offer their love and admiration to the illustrious farmer of Mount Vernon.

MRS. WASHINGTON was an uncommonly early riser, leaving her pillow at day dawn at all seasons of the year, and becoming at once actively engaged in her household duties. After breakfast she retired for an hour to her chamber, which hour was spent in prayer and reading the Holy Scriptures, a practice that she never omitted during half a century of her varied life.

Two years had passed happily at Mount Vernon; for although the general, yielding to the claims of his country, had again accepted the command-in-chief of her armies, yet he had stipulated with government that he should not leave his retirement, unless upon the actual invasion of an enemy. It was while engaged in projecting new and ornamental improvements in his grounds, that the fiat of the Almighty went forth, calling the being, the measure of whose earthly fame was

filled to overflowing, to his great reward in higher and better worlds. The illness was short and severe. MRS. WASHINGTON left not the chamber of the sufferer, but was seen kneeling at the bedside, her head resting upon her Bible, which had been her solace in the many and heavy afflictions she had undergone. Dr. Craik, the early friend and companion in arms of the chief, replaced the hand, which was almost pulseless, upon the pillow, while he turned away to conceal the tears that fast chased each other down his furrowed cheeks. The last effort of the expiring Washington was worthy of the Roman fame of his life and character. He raised himself up, and casting a look of benignity on all around him, as if to thank them for their kindly attentions, he composed his limbs, closed his eyes, and folding his arms upon his bosom, the father of his country expired, gently as though an infant died!

The afflicted relict could with difficulty be removed from the chamber of death, to which she returned no more, but occupied other apartments for the residue of her days.

By an arrangement with government, MRS. WASHINGTON yielded the remains of the chief to the prayer of the nation, as expressed through its representatives in congress, conditioning that at her decease, her own remains should accompany those of her husband to the capital.

When the burst of grief which followed the death of the pater patriæ had a little subsided, visits of condolence to the bereaved lady were made by the first personages of the land. The president of the United States, with many other distinguished individuals, repaired to Mount Vernon, while letters, addresses, funeral orations, and all the tokens of sorrow and respect, loaded the mails from every quarter of the country, offering the sublime tribute of a nation's mourning for a nation's benefactor.

Although the great sun of attraction had sunk in the west, still the radiance shed by his illustrious life and actions drew crowds of pilgrims to his tomb. The establishment of Mount Vernon was kept up to its former standard, and the lady presided with her wonted ease and dignity of manner at her hospitable board; she relaxed not in her attentions to her domestic concerns, performing the arduous duties of the mistress of so extensive an establishment, although in the sixty-ninth year of her age, and evidently suffering in her spirits, from the heavy bereavement she had so lately sustained.

In little more than two years from the demise of the chief, MRS. WASHINGTON became alarmingly ill from an attack of bilious fever.

From her advanced age, the sorrow that had preyed upon her spirits, and the severity of the attack, the family physician gave but little hope of a favorable issue. The lady herself was perfectly aware that her hour was nigh; she assembled her grand-children at her bedside, discoursed to them on their respective duties through life, spoke of the happy influences of religion upon the affairs of this world, of the consolations they had afforded her in many and trying afflictions, and of the hopes they held out of a blessed immortality; and then, surrounded by her weeping relatives, friends, and domestics, the venerable relict of Washington resigned her life into the hands of her Creator, in the seventy-first year of her age.

Agreeably to her direction, her remains were placed in a leaden coffin, and entombed by the side of those of the chief, to await the pleasure of the government.

In person, MRS. WASHINGTON was well formed, and somewhat below the middle size. To judge from her portrait at Arlington House, done by Woolaston, when she was in the bloom of life, she must at that period have been eminently handsome. In her dress, though plain, she was so scrupulously neat, that ladies have often wondered how MRS. WASHINGTON could wear a gown for a week, go through her kitchen and laundries, and all the varieties of places in the routine of domestic management, and yet the gown retain its snow-like whiteness, unsullied by even a single speck. In her conduct to her servants, her discipline was prompt, yet humane, and her household was remarkable for the excellence of its domestics.

Our filial task is done. Few females have ever figured in the great drama of life, amid scenes so varied and imposing, with so few faults and so many virtues as the subject of this brief memoir. Identified with the father of his country in the great events which led to the establishment of a nation's independence, MRS. WASHINGTON necessarily partook much of his thoughts, his councils, and his views. Often at his side in that awful period that "tried men's souls," her cheerfulness soothed his anxieties, her firmness inspired confidence, while her devotional piety toward the Supreme Being enabled her to discern a ray of hope, amid the darkness of an horizon clouded by despair.

After a long life abounding in vicissitudes, having a full measure of sorrows but with many and high enjoyments, the venerable MARTHA WASHINGTON descended to the grave, cheered by the prospect of a blessed immortality, and mourned by the millions of a mighty empire.

BIBLIOTHECA BODLEIANA

CHARLES CARROLL

OF CARROLLTON.

It has been asserted that the American colonies, now the United States, began seriously to entertain the design of throwing off their allegiance to the British king, soon after the conquest of Canada by the arms of the British and provincial forces. There is, however, no evidence to sustain that assertion; and the probability is, that the colonies, although they each had cause for discontent, had never been united in their complaints until the British parliament united them by a series of general grievances. The charters granted to the various colonies had been uniformly violated so soon as they began to thrive; and they, in their weakness and sincere attachment to "the mother country," had patiently submitted. Yet it is evident that they retained, from generation to generation, a lively sense of their natural and chartered rights. The descendants of those who had braved the dangers and hardships of the wilderness for the sake of civil and religious liberty, inherited the spirit of their fathers;—what the fathers had gained by patient toil, unbending fortitude, or by charter from the king, their children claimed as *their birthright.*

In 1764, parliament, for the first time, attempted to raise a revenue in the colonies without their consent. This led to a discussion of the right in the provincial assemblies and among the people, and the general sentiment appears to have been, that "taxation and representation were inseparable." In 1765 the famous Stamp Act was passed; and the policy of the British government being unveiled, an universal expression of indignation and opposition was echoed through the colonies. In addition to these general causes for complaint, each colony remembered its own individual grievances. It is only our purpose, on this occasion, to trace the causes of discontent in Maryland; and to show, that when her sons embarked

their "lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor," in their country's cause, they had reason and justice on their side.

The charter of Maryland was obtained by Lord Baltimore, from Charles I., in June, 1632. By the charter it was declared, that the grantee was actuated by a laudable zeal for extending the Christian religion and the territories of the empire. Lord Baltimore was a Roman Catholic; and his avowed intention was, to erect an asylum in America for the Catholic faith. In honor of the queen the province was named, and its endowment was accompanied with immunities more ample than any other of the colonies. Lord Baltimore was created the absolute proprietary, saving the allegiance due to the crown — license was given to all British subjects to transport themselves thither, and they and their posterity were declared entitled to the liberties of Englishmen, as if they had been born within the kingdom; with powers to make laws for the province, "not repugnant to the jurisprudence of England," — power was given to the proprietary, with assent of the people, to impose all just and proper subsidies, which were granted to him for ever; and it was covenanted on the part of the king, that neither he nor his successors should at any time impose, or cause to be imposed, any tollages on the colonists, or their goods and tenements, or on their commodities, to be laden within the province. The proprietary was also authorized to appoint officers, repel invasions, and suppress rebellions. The charter contained no special reservation of royal prerogative to interfere in the government of the province. Thus was laid the foundation of a popular government not likely to be willingly renounced when once possessed.

No efforts were spared by Lord Baltimore to facilitate the population and happiness of the colony; and in five years it had increased to such an extent that a code of laws became necessary. Lord Baltimore composed and submitted a body of laws to the colonists for their assent, but they not approving of them, prepared a code for themselves. At a very early period the proprietary had declared in favor of religious toleration; in 1649 the assembly adopted that principle by declaring, "that no persons professing to believe in Jesus Christ should be molested in respect to their religion, or in the free exercise thereof;" thus meriting the distinguished praise of being the first of the American States in which religious toleration was established by law. In 1654 Cromwell sent commissioners to reduce the colony to his subjection, who, although they met with no opposition in Maryland, abolished its institutions

and introduced religious discord. They inflamed the Protestants against the Catholics, until, exasperated to extremity, the parties met in an engagement, when the partizans of the proprietary government were defeated, the governor deposed, and a new assembly formed, by which a law was passed depriving the Catholics of the protection of law in the community. With the restoration of Charles II., in 1661, tranquillity was restored to the province; but in a few years that tranquillity was again disturbed by a series of petty vexations, originating in the strife and jealousy of the ruling party in Britain, on account of religion. The king's ministers commanded that all the offices of the provincial government should in future be committed exclusively to Protestants, and not only in this was the charter violated, but also by the appointment of revenue officers and the exacting of imposts. In 1686 James II. determined to overthrow the proprietary governments of the colonies, but the more important affairs in which he was engaged at home, during his short reign, prevented the consummation of his threat.* On the accession of William III. a Protestant association was formed, which, under the authority and approbation of the king, usurped the direction of the affairs of the province, keeping up the farce of a Papist plot as an excuse for their conduct. Lord Baltimore was deprived, by an act of the privy council, of the political administration, although they could find no fault in him, except that he was of the Catholic faith. With the proprietary's government the liberal principles of his administration were subverted. The Church of England was established, and a tax levied to support it.

Sanctioned by the authority and instructed by the example of the British government, the newly modelled legislature of Maryland proceeded to enact a series of laws which completely disfranchised the Catholics, by depriving them of all political and religious privileges, and of the ordinary means of education. By an act, passed in 1704 and renewed in 1715, it was ordained that the celebration of Mass, or the education of youth by a Papist, should be punished by transportation to England. These acts were afterwards modified; but the evils inflicted on the colony by the violations of the charter, were not removed until the connection with Great Britain was dissolved by the Revolution. In 1702, in the midst of this state of affairs, Charles Carroll, the father of CHARLES CARROLL OF

* About this time Charles Carroll (the son of Daniel Carroll, of Kings county, Ireland, and grandfather of CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON,) came into the colony.

CARROLLTON, was born. We may readily suppose with what attachment to the royal cause he arrived at manhood. We are informed that "he took an active part in the affairs of the provincial government; and in the religious disputes of the times stood prominent as one of the leading and most influential members of the Catholic party." On the eighth of September, 1737, O. S., his son, CHARLES CARROLL, surnamed OF CARROLLTON, was born at Annapolis; and at eight years old was taken to France to be educated. He remained there until 1757, when he visited London and commenced the study of law. In 1764, he returned to Maryland a finished scholar and an accomplished gentleman. About this period the respective rights of the colonies and of the king's government began to be discussed; religious disputes subsided and were forgotten, in the new and interesting topics of the time. The celebrated Stamp Act, in 1765, produced an universal excitement, and elicited, from men of the highest character and talents in the country, the most energetic and decisive expressions of opinion. Among those who came boldly forward in vindication of the colonists was CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON.

The Stamp Act was repealed and the excitement ceased; but in the colonies the principle of parliamentary taxation was a settled question.

In June, 1768, Mr. CARROLL married.

In 1771–2, Mr. CARROLL's talents as an advocate of popular rights, were again brought into requisition. The house of delegates, after an investigation, framed and passed a law regulating the fees of the civil officers of the colonial government, but the upper house refused to concur in it. After the adjournment of the assembly, the governor issued a proclamation commanding and enjoining all officers not to take other or greater fees than those therein mentioned. The people viewed this measure as an attempt to fix a tax upon them by proclamation, and in that light considered it as an unjust and arbitrary exercise of official authority. A newspaper contest ensued between numerous advocates of the people and of the governor. At length the parties stood in silence watching the progress of a single combat between the champion of the people, Mr. CARROLL, and his antagonist, the provincial secretary. In this controversy, Mr. CARROLL's talents and principles were brought fully before the public, and received the applause of the prominent men of the day. His antagonist was silenced, and the governor's proclamation suspended on a gallows and burnt by the common hangman. The above controversy was conducted by the parties under fictitious

signatures, and before it was known who had been the writer to whom the laurel was awarded, the citizens of Annapolis instructed their representatives to address a letter of thanks, through the newspaper, to the "distinguished advocate of the rights of his country;" but when it was generally known that "the distinguished advocate," was CHARLES CARROLL, "the people of Annapolis, not satisfied with the letter of the delegates, came in a body to thank him for his exertions in defence of their rights." Mr. CARROLL had evidently made up his mind to abide the issue of the contest, which he foresaw had only been commenced with the pen to be terminated with the bayonet; and he took repeated occasions so to express his convictions to friends and foes. As the great drama of the Revolution advanced, Mr. CARROLL'S popularity evidently became more extensive, and his advice and influence more frequently sought. After the delegates in 1774 had prohibited the importation of tea, a brig arrived at Annapolis with a quantity on board; it was court time, and a great number of people were assembled from the neighboring counties, and so irritated were they, that personal violence was threatened to the captain and consignees of the vessel and destruction to the cargo. Application was made to Mr. CARROLL for advice and protection, by the owner of the vessel. He advised him to burn the vessel and the tea it contained to the water's edge, as the most effectual means of allaying the popular excitement. His counsel was followed, the sails were set, the colors displayed, and the brig burnt amidst the acclamations of the multitude.

In February, 1776, Mr. CARROLL, then a member of the Maryland convention, was appointed by the continental congress on a commission to visit Canada, in conjunction with Dr. Franklin, Samuel Chase, and the Rev. John Carroll, the object of which was to induce the Canadians to unite their efforts with the United Provinces in the struggle for liberty; but the defeat of Montgomery's army, the contributions levied on the inhabitants, and the invincible opposition of the priests, rendered their mission abortive. Mr. CARROLL returned to Philadelphia just as the subject of independence was under discussion; he was decidedly in favor of it, but was not a member of congress; and the delegates from Maryland had been instructed to refuse their assent to it. He proceeded to Annapolis with all speed, and in his place in the convention advocated the cause of independence with such effect, that on the 28th of June new instructions were given in the place of the old ones, and on the 4th

of July, 1776, the votes of the Maryland delegation were given for independence.

On the same day, Mr. CARROLL was appointed a delegate to congress, and took his seat as a member, for the first time, on the 18th. On the next day a secret resolution was adopted, directing the Declaration to be engrossed on parchment, and signed by all the members, which was accordingly done on the 2d of August. As Mr. CARROLL had not given a vote on the adoption of that instrument, he was asked by the President if he would sign it; "most willingly," he replied, and immediately affixed his name to that "record of glory," which has endeared him to his country, and rendered his name immortal. By those who have the curiosity to compare that signature with the autograph accompanying our portrait, it will be perceived that the first was traced by a firm and manly hand, the latter after a lapse of more than half a century, and at an age when "the keepers of the house tremble." Both fac similes are correct.

Mr. CARROLL assisted in the formation of the constitution of Maryland in 1776, and continued in congress until 1778.

He served in the senate of the state for several years, was a member of the United States senate, from 1788 to 1791, from which time until 1801 he was an active member of the senate of his native state.

For the next thirty years he dwelt in the retirement of private life, in the enjoyment of tranquillity, health, fortune, and the richest reward of his patriotic labors; the veneration and gratitude of his country. After the death of Jefferson and Adams, in 1826, he was the sole survivor of the immortal band whose talents and inflexible virtues, in the midst of peril, pledged for their country all that men esteem of value; life, fortune, honor: and the sole inheritor of the rich legacy of glory which they had left. But, on the 14th of November, 1832, the mandate which all must obey, summoned to the tomb the last of the signers of the Declaration of Independence; that deed of noble daring which gave his country "a place among nations," and opened an asylum for the oppressed of all. To it the eyes of all nations are turned for instruction and example, and it is evident that the political institutions of the old world are gradually conforming to its model, to which they must very nearly approach, before the people, for whose happiness governments are framed, will be content.

Painted by [illegible]

Engraved by J. B. Forest.

MAJOR GENERAL NATHANIEL GREENE.

Nathl Greene

Entered according to Act of Congress in the Year 1825 by James Herring in the Clerks Office of the District Court of the Southern District of New York.

NATHANAEL GREENE.

THE important influence of the example of the American Revolution on the rights of man and the liberties of nations, is, as yet, but partially estimated. It is not, however, too much to say, that the working of our political institutions, after the trial of half a century; the happy operation of religious freedom; the liberty of the press; the general diffusion of education; the skill and bravery of our chivalry on the field, and on the ocean; but above all, perhaps, the prosperity and happiness of our country, are now winning the admiration of the world. On the continent of Europe we have always been regarded with respect; but the unhappy consequences of the French revolution have retarded the onward march of liberty, which must eventually triumph. Time, and that not far distant, will there unfold a series of revolutions, "a war of opinions," based on that which was fought and won for us at Bunker Hill, Yorktown, and the Eutaw Springs. A love of liberty is implanted in the bosom of man, and it will be seen, that, with feeble means, the will to attain it will prevail. For us it has been attained; and we shall now address ourselves to the task of sketching out the character and services of one of those, by whom the glorious work was accomplished. In the midst of prosperity, nations, like individuals, are apt to forget their benefactors; and republics have been proverbially ungrateful. It is incumbent on us to remove the stain.

NATHANAEL GREENE, the fourth in descent from one of the early English settlers of New England, was born on the 27th of May, 1742, in Warwick, Rhode Island. His family were very respectable members of the society of Friends, among whom his father was a preacher. In the peaceful principles of that sect, NATHANAEL was instructed. His early years were passed in the attainment of the mere rudiments of an English education, and succeeded by variations of labor in the field, the mill, or at the anvil, as his age and strength increased. In his youth, he excelled most of his companions in strength and agility; and it is evident from what has been written

of him, that he enjoyed, with great delight, the amusements and pleasures of his companions. At the age of fourteen, he became acquainted with a lad from the university of Rhode Island, who opened to his view new objects of attention. From that time, books were eagerly sought for, and their contents devoured in the intervals of his work. The desire to obtain books stimulated him to extraordinary exertions at the forge, where the work was so heavy, as to produce a permanent lameness in one of his feet; but his object could be accomplished in no other way. Geography, travels, and history, were his delight; he made himself master of Euclid, and acquired a knowledge of Latin. When about seventeen, he attracted the notice of President Styles, of Yale college, at that time a resident of Newport, and formed an intimate acquaintance with Lindley Murray, who was also there on a visit. From those gentlemen he derived much valuable information, as to the choice of books and a proper course of study. When twenty years of age, he commenced the study of the law; not with an intention, like young Murray, of making it a profession, but to acquire a knowledge of the principles of jurisprudence. When the celebrated stamp act began to agitate the country, the ardent mind of GREENE was immediately interested in the subject; and, after deliberate reflection on the principle involved, he came to the firm resolution of supporting the cause of his country, if necessary, by an open resistance.

In the year 1770, he was elected a member of the legislature of his native state, to which, from that time, until he was called to the command of the southern army, he was uniformly reëlected. There, the mass of information which he had accumulated by many years of study, gave him an influence, and he became a leading and popular member. When the states, in 1773, began to organize their militia, his attention was, as in former instances, turned to the subject, and he began a new and corresponding course of studies. Military books now engrossed his attention, until he had studied the histories of all the ancient and modern wars within his reach. For this, he was dismissed from the society of Friends; yet, he ever after regarded the sect with deep respect. In July, 1774, he married Catharine Littlefield, an intelligent and engaging lady; but his public duties left him little time for the enjoyment of domestic bliss. He had now laid aside the plain dress of his early associates, and had become a member of the "Kentish Guards," a military company, composed of the most respectable young men of the county. In the ranks of this corps he continued, until after the battle of Lexington; when the

state of Rhode Island embodied three regiments of militia, and placed them under the command of Brigadier General NATHANAEL GREENE, who conducted them to Cambridge. Here he gained the confidence and friendship of Washington, which he retained through life. He was commissioned as a brigadier general in the continental army on the 22d June, 1775, and, as a major general, on the 9th August, 1776. He accompanied the army to New York, and had command of the troops on Long Island; but when the disastrous battle was fought at Flatbush, the army was deprived of his services, by a sickness, which reduced him nearly to the grave. When the commander-in-chief found himself obliged to retreat across New Jersey, General GREENE was his constant and firm supporter. At that period of the war, a train of misfortunes had spread despondency and gloom over the country; yet the confidence and cheerfulness of General GREENE never forsook him, and the spirits of the troops were cheered by his example, though in want of almost every necessary.

On the night of the 25th December, 1776, General GREENE crossed the Delaware, in command of the left wing of the army, which, in the surprise of Trenton, seized the artillery of the enemy, and cut off their retreat to Princeton. He was constantly with the army, during that trying winter, and shared its hardships and its glories. He was present at the battles of Brandywine, in August, and of Germantown, in October, 1777. Such was the distressed situation of the American army through the winter of that year, that Washington was doubtful of his ability to take the field the ensuing season. Every exertion was made to put the army in a condition for the campaign, and General GREENE was pressed to accept the appointment of quarter-master-general. The office was accepted with great reluctance, for his inclination was, to serve in the line; and the charge and distribution of the public money was of all things disagreeable. The necessities of the army, however, and the strong expression of Washington, that "some one must make the sacrifice," at last induced him to consent; but not until the condition was acceded, that, he should not lose his right to command in action. Of this he availed himself at the battle of Monmouth, and on the retreat from Rhode Island.

The duties of his new station were arduous and embarrassing, but were rendered more so, by the unhappy factions which divided the councils of the country. Notwithstanding the distress and poverty which threatened ruin to the cause, intrigue and slander were in active operation, to undermine the reputation and character of the men, who were devoting themselves to accomplish the almost hopeless

work. Washington himself was assailed; and GREENE, who was supposed to have been his favorite officer and confidential adviser, was made an object of suspicion. It appears strange to us, at this time, that calumny could have had the effect of injuring the reputation of such a man, under the circumstances in which he was placed. Constantly with the army, and under the eye of the commander-in-chief; often without a dollar at command, and made desperate by witnessing the distresses of the brave men who had been his companions in arms through years of toil and suffering. "Hard is the lot of a man in public life, where the expenditure of money constitutes a part of his duty." The purity and integrity of General GREENE's character bore him above the storm, congress did him justice, and his personal friends never faltered in the discharge of their duty towards him. In August, 1780, he resigned the office, a poorer man than when he entered upon it.

After the fall of Charleston and the captivity of General Lincoln, the war in that quarter required the presence of a commander, on whose talents the army and the inhabitants might rely. The high reputation which General Gates had acquired by the capture of Burgoyne's army, obtained for him the command of the southern department. His arrival in North Carolina revived the hopes of the patriots, and he very soon collected an army of about four thousand men. He at once prepared to drive the British force from their line of posts across the state of South Carolina, and to carry the war to the gates of Charleston. But near Camden he was met by an army under Lord Cornwallis, and suffered an overwhelming defeat. The consequences were awful. Lord Cornwallis considered himself a conqueror in full possession, and adopted a course of proscriptive measures, which finally recoiled upon himself. He hung several respectable men at Camden, and he seized a number of the most influenfial and patriotic of the prisoners on parole, whom he transported to St. Augustine: he then prepared to overrun that part of Carolina which had not been devastated; and his progress was marked by rapine, conflagrations, and blood. The lion-hearted patriots of Carolina were again roused to the defence of their lives, their families, and their homes. From that time, there was no neutrality; and the horrors of a regular warfare were heightened, by all the ruthless accompaniments of party fury, malignity, and revenge. General GREENE was appointed to supersede Gates, on the 14th of October, 1780; and four days after, he sat out from West Point for his command.

On arriving at Charlotte, on the second of December, he found the southern army a mere skeleton, without artillery, baggage, or stores. In a letter to La Fayette, he says, "Were you to arrive, you would find a few ragged, half starved troops in the wilderness, destitute of every thing necessary for the comfort or convenience of soldiers." In his front was an enemy, flushed with victory and well provided; around him, an exhausted country; and the inhabitants divided into hostile parties, "plundering each other with little less than savage fury." Money, he had none; for he had been furnished with only sufficient to defray the expenses of his journey. But he had around him a number of active, spirited, and devoted officers, on whose exertions he could depend, and the *promise* of reinforcements from the states through which he had passed on his route.

Cautiously he adapted his operations to his means. The prudent policy of Washington, and the precipitate imprudence of Gates, were both before him. His first care was to remove to a place, where subsistence and the means of transportation could be obtained. Cornwallis was at Winnsborough, and Leslie was advancing with a powerful reinforcement towards Camden. The only mode of carrying on the war was, to cut up these forces in detail, by sudden assaults on their detachments; by enticing them into the interior; and by striking at the posts, and keeping up an alarm on every side, until the American commander should find himself in sufficient force to face his antagonist. General GREENE, with the main body, marched to the Cheraw hills on the Pee Dee; and detached General Morgan to the west of the Catawba, to act on the left of Cornwallis, to collect provisions and forage, and annoy the enemy as circumstances would permit. This movement alarmed the British commander for some of his posts, and he despatched Colonel Tarleton, with a force, to destroy him, which was, itself, annihilated at the Cowpens. Galled at this unexpected result, Cornwallis hastened to cut off Morgan's retreat with his prisoners, and to prevent him uniting with the main body. Foiled in the attempt, he vigorously pursued GREENE, who was moving in a direction to unite with Morgan.

This is the commencement of the celebrated retreat from South Carolina, across the state of North Carolina, into Virginia, which has won for the American commander a high rank, in the estimation of military men. With the force of Morgan united to his own, he was unable to meet the foe. Cornwallis sought to force him to an action, and he was as resolutely determined to avoid one. Having taken the precaution to secure the passage of the Dan, the American army

crossed that river in safety, and were secure. Here General GREENE had expected to find reinforcements, and to have been able to turn on his pursuers; but not a man was there.

Cornwallis saw the dangers of his situation; so sure had he been of crushing the Americans, that he had destroyed his baggage to accelerate his movements; his force was diminishing by death and desertion, while that of his wary adversary he knew must increase, for the states of North Carolina and Virginia were collecting recruits, and the cry "to arms" was universal. He accordingly retired to Hillsborough, to collect the royalists in that vicinity, by liberal offers of gold and land; in this he succeeded for some time, but suddenly they began to diminish. The partisan whigs were hovering around in force, cutting off the advancing parties; and the rapid concentration of volunteers, had enabled GREENE to resume offensive operations, and throw himself between Cornwallis and the upper country. The noble earl now found himself surrounded by timid friends and inveterate enemies; his stores decreasing, and the country wasted by the loyal followers of his army; and it was evident, that whenever his adversary pleased, there must be a trial at arms. The activity and vigilance of GREENE's light troops kept him constantly informed of every movement of the British forces, and enabled him to rest and refresh his troops against the day of action, which he determined to draw on whenever his reinforcements should arrive, being confident, that if he could not ruin his adversary, he could at least cripple him severely. According to this determination, the battle of Guilford Court-house was fought on the 15th March, 1781. The result of that engagement was, that the British remained masters of the field, but with the loss of six hundred men. Victory at such a price was defeat to Cornwallis, who retreated, and left his wounded to the benevolence of his enemy. In a few days, General GREENE found himself in a condition to pursue; he left the wounded of both armies behind, in the care of a congregation of Friends, and followed with great vigor, until finding it impossible to overtake the foe, he halted at Ramsay's Mill to refresh his troops, and Cornwallis pushed forward towards Wilmington. When GREENE was satisfied of the onward course of the British army, he took the resolution to march directly into South Carolina, to revive the spirit of the people, to destroy the line of posts between Charleston and Camden, to live on the spoils of the enemy, and, if possible, induce Lord Cornwallis to return for their protection. But that commander, after a fruitless endeavor to divert GREENE's attention, took

a contrary course to Petersburg; Colonel Lee, with his legion, and a small corps of infantry, were detached to form a junction with Marion, on the Santee; while GREENE, with the main body, moved off to Camden, and, on the 20th of April, took post at Hobkirk's Hill, about a mile and a half from the British redoubts. On the morning of the 25th, whilst the American soldiers were preparing their breakfast, Lord Rawdon attempted a surprise, by passing through a swamp to the left of the encampment. But in this he was disappointed. The pickets received him promptly, and retired deliberately and in good order, disputing the ground bravely. In the mean time, the American army was formed in order of battle, and every disposition was made before the enemy appeared. The battle commenced with vigor, and a sanguinary conflict ensued. But the Americans were obliged to abandon the field, and Rawdon immediately returned to Camden, which he soon after evacuated, and retired to Charleston. Orangeburgh, Fort Motte, Granby, and several other posts, were captured by American detachments; whilst the commander carried on the siege of Ninety-Six, a strongly fortified post. But before it could be reduced, Rawdon had received reinforcements, which enabled him to raise the siege, and GREENE was compelled to fall back on North Carolina, with the enemy in full pursuit. It was discouraging to be thus made the sport of fortune, but the firmness and decision of the general's character sustained him through the trial; for being at this time advised to abandon South Carolina, he replied, "I will recover the country, or perish in the attempt." Lord Rawdon soon perceived that pursuit was vain; that while he was removing from all support, GREENE was falling back on his magazines and reinforcements, and leading him towards the very route, over which he had before led Cornwallis; and, being already short of provisions, he returned to Ninety-Six, and from thence to Charleston, taking with him all the loyalist families in that district of country. General GREENE then retired to the high hills of Santee, to indulge his army in a short repose during the heat of the summer.

Near the end of August, he again sought the enemy, and met him in battle, at the Eutaw Springs, on the 8th of September. This battle was described by the American commander, as the most obstinate and bloody he had ever seen. The militia, with a firmness "which would have graced the veterans of the great king of Prussia," advanced with shouts into the hottest of the enemy's fire; but one part of the line faltering for a moment, the British, elated at the prospect, sprang forward to improve that moment, but at the same time deranged

their own line. General GREENE, who was watching for such an incident, "ordered the second line to advance, and sweep the field with their bayonets." The order was promptly obeyed, and the enemy were driven from the ground, through their camp in the rear. But their pursuers were diverted by the spoils of the tents, and became irretrievably confused; in the mean time, the enemy rallied, and under cover of the fire from a large party who had taken possession of a brick house, recovered their camp. Had it not been for the temptation, so unexpectedly thrown open, the British forces must have surrendered; as it was, their power in South Carolina was prostrated, for in this action they lost upwards of one thousand men. This was the last of General GREENE's battles. The enemy abandoned the whole of South Carolina, except Charleston and its vicinity, and the American army retired to their former encampment, until after the capture of Cornwallis at Yorktown. The soldiers, left for a time to repose, the mind of the commander was meditating on the future. He had been induced to expect, that the French fleet, with a part of the land forces on board, would pass from the Chesapeake to Charleston, to coöperate with him in the recovery of the three most southern states. Disappointed in that aid, he still was bent on the expulsion of the foe from North Carolina and Georgia; if not from their strong hold in Charleston. Although the spirit of enterprise was high in the American army, there were presented few opportunities for adventure. We cannot recount the minor affairs, but will pass to events of another character, and view the conduct of General GREENE under other circumstances. It was discovered, that a part of his army had entered into correspondence with the British, and had agreed to deliver him up; but the ringleader was detected, convicted, and shot, and twelve of his associates deserted. Had their plan succeeded, the southern army would have been dissolved; for it was the commander's personal influence alone which held it together: he was the idol and pride of his soldiers; and it is to their honor, that amongst the conspirators, not one native American was implicated. Much as the army had suffered, their commander had felt no loss; and the only instance we have found in all his correspondence is about this time, when he had to witness the sufferings of his soldiers, without the power to relieve them. While engaged in the duties of the field, the southern army had endured privations and hardships almost beyond belief; but we have it from undoubted authority, that a large proportion of that army, at times, were literally "as naked as they were born"; that the loins of

many of the brave men who carried death into the enemy's ranks at the Eutaw, were galled by their cartouch boxes; and that their shoulders were protected from chaffing, only by a piece of rag or a tuft of moss. Can we be surprised then, that, when left to repose, they should think over their sufferings, and expect, at least, to be noticed by the country they had saved? Yet, so it was, they for a time appeared to be forgotten, and they murmured; and the mind of the commander was burdened by the most painful anxieties. Symptoms of mutiny made their appearance in the Maryland line, but they were preceded by a pathetic address to their general. They asked his attention to their thinned ranks, reduced from a brigade to the number of two hundred; but he had not the means to relieve them. *His army at this time had received no pay in two years; was nearly naked; often short of meat and bread; and the sick and wounded perishing for want of medicines and proper food.*

When discontent existed among the officers of the legion, on the appointment of Colonel Laurens, and they all tendered their resignations, complaining of partiality and injustice, he reminded them of their right to appeal to congress, but their reply was petulant and haughty; and the general, after giving them a private hint of his intention, accepted their commissions. This was unexpected; they found that their attachment to him was such, that they could not leave him in the face of the enemy; and they availed themselves of his suggestion, to refer their complaint to congress, and returned quietly to their posts. Thus the general had not only conquered the enemy, but had overcome the demon of discord in his own army.

Except for the purpose of procuring provisions from the surrounding country, the enemy lay inactive in Charleston. With all their force, they had been unable to keep possession of the country; and with their diminished means it would have been folly to renew the strife. They therefore prepared to evacuate the city, having agreed with the American commander to leave it uninjured, and to be permitted to depart unmolested. Accordingly, on the 14th December, 1782, the American army entered the city as the British rear departed from it. To the citizens of Charleston, it was a day of joy and congratulation. Upwards of two years, they had been under the arbitrary restrictions of an enemy's garrison; cut off from all intercourse with their friends, and ignorant of their fate; now they beheld them returning, the liberators of their country. Solemn thanks were offered to THE ALMIGHTY in places of public worship, and the whole city presented a scene of festivity. The object of regard to

every eye, and of praise from every tongue, from the governor of the state to the humblest citizen, GREENE alone appeared to be unconscious of having himself merited distinction, while he deeply felt the attentions, which were liberally bestowed on his gallant army.

The difficulty of supplying rations for the army after this period, for a time, threatened serious consequences, but by the commander becoming responsible himself, as an endorser for the contractor, the evil was removed; but the transaction was the cause of much subsequent embarrassment to himself, and to his family after his decease.

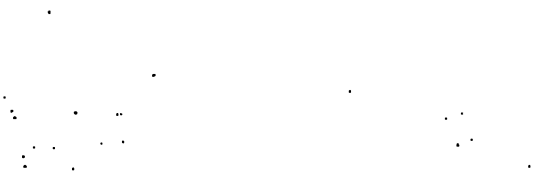
Peace was at length restored,—the army was disbanded, and General GREENE returned to his native state.

In every place, through which he passed on his journey home, he was received with enthusiasm and expressions of gratitude and admiration. On his arrival at Princeton, where the congress was then in session, that body resolved to present him with two pieces of ordnance, taken from the British army, "as a public testimony of the wisdom, fortitude, and military skill, which distinguished his command in the southern department." They had previously voted him a British standard and a gold medal, commemorative of the battle of Eutaw. The state of Georgia presented him with a beautiful and highly improved plantation, a few miles from Savannah; and South Carolina conveyed to him a valuable body of land. This he was obliged to part with, to free himself from the pecuniary obligations before referred to; and to the former he removed with his family in the fall of 1785, when he commenced the cultivation of his land, and the education of his children. But this period of repose and domestic pleasure was brief; for being attacked by inflammation of the brain on the 12th, his mortal career was closed on the 19th of June, 1786.

Thus have we sketched the life of one of the most conspicuous men of the American revolution; and whether we view it, as illustrative of what may be accomplished by the native energy of genius, or as an example of deep, pure, devoted, patriotism, it is equally entitled to our regard. Through it, we can trace the same invincible spirit, in the humble, industrious, youthful Quaker, as in the heroic firmness of the illustrious warrior. In the former, it was incited by a thirst for knowledge, which never abated; and in the latter, by a determination to deliver his country when overrun by hostile armies. The influence of his early moral discipline should not be overlooked, for it gave a peculiar hue of modesty and virtue, patience and benevolence, to his subsequent actions; which, like the pearly tints of a picture, at once harmonize and beautify the whole.

BRIG^{R} GEN^{L} ANTHONY WAYNE.

Anth^{y} Wayne



ANTHONY WAYNE.

If decision, promptness, and energy of character, combined with a sound judgment, correct principles, an ardent patriotism, and faithful service, merit distinction and a grateful record, no one is more entitled to them than the gallant Wayne.

There is, indeed, something in the name of Wayne, which immediately presents to the mind of every American, well read in the history of his country, the image of a bold, enterprising, and active officer, of a ready will and prompt execution; always ready to attack his enemy sword in hand, but impatient of restraint. This is the trait of his character, which particularly distinguishes him from those with whom he acted in the revolution, but, which peculiarly fitted him for the services on which his military reputation is established. It has been said of him, by one who knew him well, that he had "a constitutional attachment to the decision of the sword," and that "the general and his soldiers were singularly fitted for close and stubborn action, hand to hand, in the centre of the army." This may be accounted for on very probable grounds: his grandfather had been a commander of dragoons at the battle of the Boyne, and his father had distinguished himself in frequent conflicts with the Indians; young Wayne had consequently

——— "heard of battles, and he long'd
To follow to the field some warlike chief."

Even at school, his studies were neglected for military amusements, and it was only by the dread of being compelled to labor on his father's farm, that his attention was diverted to his proper duties.

The subject of this sketch was born in Chester county, Pennsylvania, on the first of January, 1745. Notwithstanding his distaste for his early studies, he left the Philadelphia academy, at the age of eighteen, a good mathematician, and commenced the business of a surveyor, which he pursued with success for some years, during which time, he turned his attention to engineering and astronomy, and has left some valuable manuscripts on those subjects. He took a deep interest

in the controversy with Great Britain, and was actively engaged in the measures, which were adopted preparatory to the great struggle, in which he performed so conspicuous a part.

In 1774, he was appointed one of the deputies to take into consideration the state of affairs between Great Britain and the colonies; was a member of the Pennsylvania convention, and a representative in the provincial legislature. The prospect of approaching war brought him, at length, into possession of his wishes—a military command. He retired from civil employment in the fall of 1775, and raised a regiment of volunteers, of which he was elected colonel; he afterwards received the appointment of colonel from the continental congress, and at the head of a regiment of Pennsylvanians, marched to Canada. He served under General Thompson, at the battle of the Three Rivers, where he was wounded; yet he distinguished himself by his courage and skill in bringing off the troops, after his commander was defeated and taken prisoner. He was promoted by congress to the rank of brigadier general, February 21, 1777, being at that time in command at Ticonderoga. In May following, he joined the commander-in-chief, in New Jersey.

At the battle of Brandywine, on the 11th of September, he was opposed to Knyphausen, and steadily maintained the contest, until after Cornwallis had turned the right of the American army. On the 16th, the two armies again met, to try the issue of another battle, in which, Philadelphia was to be the prize of the victor. WAYNE, who commanded the advance, commenced the action with spirit; but a violent storm, with a deluge of rain, prevented a general engagement, and so damaged the ammunition of the Americans, that they were obliged to retire until it could be replenished, and the British army took possession of Philadelphia on the 26th.

In the mean time, WAYNE had suffered an unfortunate surprise. He had moved into the rear of the British left wing, and taken a position at about three miles distance, near the Paoli tavern, intending to fall on them when they decamped. The usual precautions were taken; but accurate information of his position and force had been conveyed to the British, and they effected a surprise at night, which compelled him in haste to retreat, with serious loss. The affair was made the subject of military investigation, and he was acquitted with honor, "as having done every thing that could be expected, from an active, vigilant, and brave officer, under the orders which he then had." A monument has been erected on the spot, to the memory of the brave men who fell there.

At Germantown, he signalized himself by his bravery in action, and prudence in retreat; he was twice slightly wounded, and had his horse shot under him, within a few yards of the enemy's front.

While the army lay, in the winter of 1777–8, at Valley Forge, WAYNE was detached into New Jersey, with a body of troops, to collect cattle and destroy the forage, which would be likely to fall into the hands of the enemy. He succeeded, even in the face of the foe, in sending into camp several hundred head of cattle, and a number of fine horses, and forage. It was in consequence of this success, that Major Andre wrote a song, to the tune of "Yankee Doodle," of which the concluding stanza runs thus:

"But now I end my lyric strain—
I tremble while I show it!
Lest this same warrio-drover, WAYNE,
Should ever catch the poet."

The unfortunate poet's fate has changed his mock-heroic to a tragic strain; for when taken, he was delivered to WAYNE, at Tappan.

The British army evacuated Philadelphia, in June, 1778, and pursued the direct route to New York; and Washington's force, which was about equal to it, immediately was put in motion, and crossed into Jersey. A council was held, to deliberate on the proper course to be pursued. WAYNE and Cadwallader were for battle; but all the foreign officers, and a large majority of the whole board, were decidedly against it. As the army drew near the enemy, in the vicinity of Monmouth, WAYNE again advocated an attack; and in the battle which ensued, he added to his reputation, and won the commendation of the commander-in-chief, who particularly mentioned him in his official report.

The occasion on which WAYNE next distinguished himself, was the attack of Stony Point. This is a considerable height, situated on the Hudson, the greater part of whose base is washed by the river, and the remainder is covered by a morass, through which there is but one crossing-place. On the summit of the hill was a fort, mounted with heavy cannon; breast-works were advanced in front of the principal work; half way down, there was a double row of abattis; and in addition, there were several vessels of war in the river, whose guns commanded the ground at the foot of the hill.

Stony Point had been taken, not long before, by Sir Henry Clinton, and the works had been greatly strengthened by his orders. General Washington thought its recovery of great moment, and planned an

expedition against it, the command of which he entrusted to WAYNE. On the 15th of July, 1779, the troops left Sandy Beach, at noon, and arrived in the vicinity of the fort, at eight o'clock, in the evening. The measures of the Americans had been so well taken, that every person had been secured, who could give information of their movements to the fort. The hour of midnight was fixed on for the assault. At half past eleven, the Americans advanced in two columns, with unloaded muskets, and fixed bayonets. A forlorn hope, of twenty men, preceded each of them, to remove the abattis and other obstructions. The marsh was reached undiscovered, and twenty minutes before twelve, the troops rushed to the charge, amid a tremendous fire of musketry and grape shot, and overcoming every obstacle, they took possession of the fort without firing a gun.

Sixty-three of the garrison were killed in the assault, and five hundred and forty-three made prisoners. In the attack, WAYNE was wounded by a musket ball, which grazed the skull: he fell, but instantly rising on one knee, he exclaimed, "Forward, my brave fellows, forward!" But supposing himself to be mortally wounded, he requested his aids to assist him, that he might die in the fort. For this exploit, he received the thanks of congress, and a gold medal.

On the first of January, 1781, the Pennsylvania troops, in the vicinity of Morristown, revolted, and determined to present their grievances to congress in a body. They paraded under arms without officers, supplied themselves with ammunition and provisions, seized six pieces of artillery, and took the horses from the generals' stable. WAYNE, in vain, endeavored to bring them to their duty by expostulation: he cocked his pistol, and they presented their bayonets to his breast, saying, "we respect and love you; you have often led us into the field of battle; but we are no longer under your command; if you fire your pistols, or attempt to enforce your commands, we shall instantly put you to death." They assured him, that they were still attached to the cause they had embraced, and would not abandon it; and that if the enemy should dare to come out of New York, they would, under his orders, face them in the field. The grievances of these men were of a serious character; but as it is not to our purpose to detail them, it will be sufficient to notice, that the majority of the Pennsylvania line were discharged from further service.

WAYNE was then sent to Virginia, where he served with La Fayette; and was present at the siege of Yorktown, and contributed to the happy termination of the campaign. He was then despatched

into Georgia, to protect the country from the incursions of the garrison of Savannah; and, if he found a suitable opportunity, to carry that post by a nocturnal assault. On his approach, the country was laid waste with fire by the enemy; but he drew his supplies from South Carolina, and at the head of a force equal only to half that opposed to him, he pursued his operations with vigor. He defeated Colonel Brown, who had been sent out to protect a party of Indians, on their way to Savannah, for the purposes of trade. About a month after the defeat of Brown, the party it had been his object to protect, reached the neighborhood of WAYNE unperceived, and their leader, Guristersigo, a chief of renown, had obtained information of the station of an American picket, directly on his route to Savannah: through this picket he determined to force his way; but when he made the attempt, he found the main body, with the General, at the post: and, although he succeeded in silently killing the sentinel, and falling upon the rear by surprise, about two hours before day, he was killed in the conflict, and his party scattered in every direction. The protection afforded by the force under General WAYNE, enabled the governor and council again to establish civil authority in Georgia; and, in a short time, Savannah, the last hold of the British power in that state, was evacuated. At this time, General Greene was approaching Charleston, and WAYNE proceeded to join him; and when the British force retired, he entered the town, at the head of the light troops.

On the return of peace, he retired to private life. In 1789, he was a member of the Pennsylvania convention, and was an advocate for the present constitution of the United States.

In 1792, he was appointed to the command of the army engaged against the Indians, on the north-western frontier.

The Indians, on that border, excited by the tories and British agents, resident among them, had for a long time evinced their hostility to the American government. To repress and punish these hostilities, several expeditions had been made into their country; but these had failed; and from their failure, the Indians derived new strength and confidence. Harmar had retreated from their country beaten, and with disgrace; and St. Clair had been routed with terrific slaughter. Success, of course, gave new hope and boldness to the savages; and, it was feared, that it would excite other tribes to join their alliance, and produce a general confederation among them. They had rejected, with disdain, every overture to accommodation; and two brave and meritorious officers, Colonel Harden and Major

Freeman, whilst bearing a scheme of pacification to them, had been barbarously murdered. Under these circumstances, when the command of the army destined for the new expedition was of such importance, General Washington evinced his confidence in WAYNE, by nominating him to it. The service was accounted so dangerous, and there was so little inducement to enlist, that the recruiting of troops proceeded but slowly. Under these circumstances, it was thought that the meditated expedition could not prudently be undertaken in the course of that year. The Indians, too, evinced a greater willingness to treat; and, through the intervention of the Six Nations, the savages of the Miami and the Wabash, consented to hold a conference with the American commissioners in the ensuing spring, that of 1793. In the mean time, the preparations for war went on: the army was cantoned on the Ohio for the winter; the new levies were disciplined, and the recruiting continually urged. In the spring, the American commissioners proceeded to Niagara; but the Indians did not meet them until July. Their demands were then so exorbitant, as to be utterly inadmissible by the United States. The negotiations had, however, been protracted until September; and when the savages announced their rejection of the terms proposed by the commissioners, the season was too far advanced to make any decisive movements. WAYNE deferred all hostile operations until the ensuing spring, but he advanced, and took possession of the ground on which the Americans had been defeated in 1791, and built a fort there, which he called Fort Recovery. By taking this position he was enabled to protect, more effectually, the frontiers of the union, while the army remained within striking distance of the principal settlements of the enemy.

In the next year, active preparations were made for bringing the war to a conclusion; but the difficulty of procuring supplies retarded the opening of the campaign until near midsummer; and it was not until the 8th of August that the army arrived at the junction of the river Au Glaize with the Miami of the Lakes. Here, WAYNE halted a few days, for the purpose of throwing up some works for the protection of his baggage. About forty miles distant, the British occupied a post; and it was in the vicinity of this post that the hostile Indians were assembled. According to information on which he relied, WAYNE calculated their numbers to amount to about two thousand men. To this, his own force was superior; the continental legion alone being nearly equal in numbers to the Indians: besides which, he had under his command about eleven hundred Kentucky militia.

Though confident of victory, with a humane and generous policy, he determined to make one more effort to obtain peace without the effusion of blood. He invited the Indians to appoint deputies to meet him on his march, in order to negotiate a treaty: he exhorted them to be no longer deceived by the counsel of those who had neither power nor inclination to protect them; and he urged them to accede to his present proposition, as the only means of preserving themselves and their families from famine.

On the 15th, the army advanced, by slow and cautious marches, down the Miami: one brigade of mounted volunteers, commanded by Brigadier General Todd, on the left; the other, by Brigadier General Barber, in the rear. A select battalion of mounted volunteers, commanded by Major Price, moved in front of the legion, to prevent surprise, the Indians having returned an evasive answer to the proposition of a treaty, and General WAYNE not knowing which to expect, peace or war. After advancing about five miles, the corps under Major Price received a heavy fire from the enemy, concealed among the woods and high grass, and fell back upon the main body.

The Indians had chosen a position very favorable to their mode of warfare. A great quantity of fallen timber, which seemed to have been blown down by a tornado, rendered the wood in front of the British fort almost inaccessible to cavalry; and, in this wood, they had formed their army in three lines, according to their custom, with a very extended front, stretching nearly two miles at right angles with the river. Judging from the extent of their lines, and the heaviness of their fire, that the enemy was in full force in front, and endeavoring to turn his left flank, WAYNE ordered the second line to advance to the support of the first, at the same time the first line was ordered to advance and charge, and "to rouse the Indians at the point of the bayonet, and when up, to deliver a close and well directed fire upon their backs, followed by a brisk charge, so as not to give them time to load again, nor to form their lines."

Colonel Campbell, with the legionary cavalry, was also ordered to turn their left flank, next to the river, where the ground was more favorable for horse to act on; and General Scott, with the mounted volunteers, was directed to perform the same service on their right. These orders were obeyed with spirit and promptness. "But such," says the General, in his despatch, "was the intrepidity of the charge by the first line of infantry, that the Indians, and Canadian militia, and volunteers, were driven from all their coverts in so short a time, that, although every possible exertion was used by the officers of the

second line of the legion, and by Generals Scott, Wood, and Barber, of the mounted volunteers, to gain their proper positions, but part of each could get up in time to participate in the action, the enemy being driven in the course of one hour more than two miles, through the thick woods already mentioned, by less than one half of their number." The troops actually engaged on the part of the Americans, did not amount to nine hundred men. The Americans, in this action, lost thirty-three men killed, and one hundred wounded. The loss of the enemy could not be exactly ascertained. WAYNE remained for three days on the banks of the Miami, during which time all the houses and corn-fields, for a considerable distance, above and below the field of battle, were destroyed: among them, were the property and stores of M'Kee, the British Indian agent, and a principal instigator of the war. During these operations, a correspondence took place between General WAYNE, and Colonel Campbell, the commander of the British garrison; and the latter prevented hostilities only by permitting the destruction of property within reach of the guns of the fort. On the 27th, the army returned to head quarters.

The hostilities of the Indians still continuing, forts were established in the midst of their settlements, to prevent their return. These measures proved successful. The hopes of the savages were crushed, their resources exhausted, and their brethren, who had shown symptoms of a dangerous temper, prevented from taking part with them. On the 3d of August, 1795, a definitive treaty, on terms satisfactory to the American government, was concluded with them, by General WAYNE. The next year saw the termination of his useful and honorable life. He died in December, 1796, in a hut at Presque Isle, while engaged in the service of his country. His remains were buried upon the shores of Lake Erie; but, in 1809, they were removed to his native county, by his son, Isaac Wayne, Esq.

General WAYNE was possessed of a commanding presence, pleasing address, and daring bravery. He was excellent in discipline, unrivalled in enterprise, and was always held in high respect by his companions in arms.

The state of Georgia testified their gratitude to him by the present of an estate, immediately in the neighborhood of one given to his friend General Greene. The Cincinnati society have erected a monument to his memory, in the cemetery of St. David's church, near the place of his birth.

MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM MOULTRIE.

Will.m Moultrie

Entered according to Act of Congress in the Year 1821 by James Herring in the Clerks Office of the District Court of the Southern District of New York.

WILLIAM MOULTRIE.

This patriotic citizen has contributed towards the history of the United States, two volumes of "Memoirs of the American Revolution." As these relate principally to events which occurred in South Carolina within his own knowledge, they are invaluable as authentic records. On their authority, we shall briefly describe the situation of South Carolina at the commencement of the revolution, and the measures adopted by her patriotic citizens of those days, when they made common cause with the other colonists in defence of *their* violated rights.

Settled at a much later period than the eastern colonies, the greatest evils Carolina had endured, originated from the anomalous characters of the first settlers; English puritans and cavaliers, French huguenots, and others; which led to constant disputes amongst themselves; and from the unjust and arbitrary manner in which the government was administered by the proprietaries. Whilst the colonists of New England clung to their charters, as the palladium of their liberties, those of South Carolina sought relief by an appeal to the throne;—by renouncing the proprietary government; and by establishing one of their own in the name of the king. This took place in 1719, and from that time until the revolution, the government was administered by a royal governor, and their laws enacted by a provincial assembly. The proprietary government had been not only unjust, but impolitic; it left the colonists to contend against the Indians and the Spaniards at their own expense, which discouraged emigration, and impoverished the country, by continually draining it of its resources; at the same time, it exercised a most arbitrary and illegal power, by repealing the laws which the general assembly of the colony had thought necessary for its preservation and defence. The consequence was, that more than fifty years after its first settlement, the whole white population of South Carolina did not exceed fifty thousand; and "the face of the country appeared like a desert, with little spots here and there cleared, scarcely discernible amidst the immense forest." But

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under the royal government, the population rapidly increased, the country was explored and cultivated, and wealth, and a comparative degree of ease and freedom, were enjoyed.

South Carolina did not then, become a party in the great contest, so much from any local grievance or special cause of complaint, as from a high, chivalrous impulse, and a firm conviction of the correctness of the principle, "that the colonies were entitled to the sole and exclusive privilege of giving and granting their own money."

The first advance towards a continental union was made by Massachusetts, in 1765, it was seconded by South Carolina, and in October of that year, delegates from nine of the provinces assembled in New York, and agreed to a declaration of rights, and a statement of grievances.

After the passage of the celebrated bill for shutting up the port of Boston, the inhabitants of that town appealed to the "sister colonies." The appeal was promptly answered by South Carolina, and delegates were appointed to the congress which assembled in Philadelphia on the fifth of September, 1774. When the delegates had returned to Charleston, and reported the serious character of the dispute with Great Britain, the general committee determined to call a provincial congress. In every parish and district, representatives were elected to meet in Charleston on the eleventh of January, 1775. In a few days, they approved the bill of rights, as declared by the continental congress,—agreed to the American association, and recommended the inhabitants to be diligent in learning the use of arms. Amongst many other decisive and patriotic measures, they resolved unanimously, that any person who should take, or act under any commission in any wise derived from the act of parliament, changing the form of government, and violating the charter of the provinces of Massachusetts Bay, ought to be held in detestation and abhorrence by all good men, and considered as the wicked tools of that despotism, which was preparing to destroy those rights, which God, nature, and compact, had given to America. Still, hopes of a reconciliation were entertained, until the news of the battle of Lexington was received; from that moment there was no hesitation as to the course to be pursued. The provincial congress was again called together on the first of June. "At this summons," says General MOULTRIE, "the people were greatly alarmed, and their minds much agitated; they saw that war was inevitable; and that it was to be with that country which first planted them in America, and raised them to maturity; a country with which they were connected by consanguinity, by

custom, and by manners; by religion, by laws, and by language; a country that they had always been taught to respect, and to consider as amongst the first in the world. A rich and powerful nation, with immense fleets, and experienced admirals, sailing triumphantly over the ocean; with large armies and able generals in many parts of the globe: this great nation we dared to oppose, without money, without arms, without ammunition; no generals, no armies, no admirals, and no fleets; this was our situation when the contest began." On the first day of the meeting of the provincial congress, "they determined upon a defensive war; and the fourth day it was resolved to raise two regiments of five hundred men each." Of the second of these regiments, WILLIAM MOULTRIE was appointed colonel, on the 17th of June, 1775; (the same day on which was fought the battle of Bunker Hill,) and from that time he was constantly engaged in the discharge of a succession of active and arduous duties. In September, a detachment from this regiment took possession of Fort Johnson, and the council of safety ordered him to have a flag made, ("as there was no national or state flag at that time,") upon which, as the state troops were clothed in blue, and wore a silver crescent in front of their caps, he had a large blue flag made, with a crescent in the dexter corner, and "that was the first American flag displayed in South Carolina."

There was at the time a sloop of war laying off Charleston, which excited constant vigilance and uneasiness, lest the town or the fort should be attacked. General MOULTRIE in his memoirs, frequently notices how highly they were impressed with the mighty power of a British man-of-war. When, therefore, the flag was hoisted on the fort, it alarmed the timid. "They said it had the appearance of a declaration of war, and the captain of the Tamer would look upon it as an insult and a flag of defiance; but he knew his own force and kept his station." The Cherokee sloop of war soon afterwards joined the Tamer, and blockaded the harbor of Charleston, and annoyed the provincials exceedingly by enticing the negroes to run away and form a camp on Sullivan's Island. On the 19th of December, on a very dark and cold night, Colonel MOULTRIE, with a number of gentlemen, and two hundred soldiers, embarked from Charleston to erect a battery at Haddrell's Point, so as to drive off the men-of-war;—by day-light they were well covered, and in a few hours laid their platforms, mounted some guns, and opened their embrasures. The men-of-war immediately moved further off, and left the cove and Sullivan's Island under the command of the American batteries.

Early in March, 1776, Colonel MOULTRIE was ordered to take post on Sullivan's Island, where a fort was building large enough to contain one thousand men. At this time, certain intelligence had been received that an expedition was preparing in New York against Charleston, and as Colonel MOULTRIE rendered a good account of it, when it arrived within reach of his guns, we shall give his own plain narrative of one of the most brilliant actions of the revolutionary war. "At this time it was the general opinion, especially among the sailors, that two frigates would be a sufficient force to knock the town about our ears, notwithstanding our number of batteries with heavy cannon; but in a few weeks, experience taught us that frigates could make no impression on our palmetto batteries."

"May 31, a large fleet of British vessels were seen about twenty miles to the windward of the bar; and on the first of June, they displayed about fifty sail before the town, on the outside of the bar. The sight of these vessels alarmed us very much; all was hurry and confusion: the president with his council, busy in sending expresses to every part of the country, to hasten down the militia; men running about the town looking for horses, carriages, and boats, to send their families into the country; and as they were going through the town gates into the country, they met the militia from the country marching into town: traverses were made in the principal streets; fleches thrown up at every place where troops could land, military works going on every where, the lead taken from the windows of the churches and dwelling houses, to cast into musket balls, and every preparation to receive an attack, which was expected in a few days. June 4th, General Lee arrived from the northward, and took command of the troops. When he came to Sullivan's Island, he did not like that post at all; he said there was no way to retreat, that the garrison would be sacrificed; nay, he called it a 'slaughter pen,' and wished to withdraw the garrison and give up the post, but President Rutledge insisted that it should not be given up:—for my part, I never was uneasy on not having a retreat, because I never imagined the enemy could force me to that necessity. Captain Lamperer, a brave and experienced seaman, who had been master of a man-of-war, visited me at the fort after the British ships came over the bar; while we were walking on the platform, looking at the fleet, he said to me: 'Well, colonel; what do you think of it now?' I replied, that 'we should beat them.' 'Sir,' said he; 'when those ships come to lay along side of your fort, they will knock it down in half an hour,' (and that was the opinion of all the sailors,) then I

said, 'we will lay behind the ruins, and prevent their men from landing.' Our fort at this time was not nearly finished; the mechanics and negro laborers were taken from all the works about the town, and sent down to the island to complete our fort; we worked very hard, but could not get it nearly finished before the action. On the morning of the 28th of June, I paid a visit to our advance-guard; while I was there, I saw a number of the enemy's boats in motion at the back of Long Island, as if they intended a descent; at the same time, I saw the men-of-war loose their topsails. I hurried back to the fort as fast as possible; when I got there, the ships were already under sail; I immediately ordered the long roll to beat, and officers and men to their posts. We had scarcely manned our guns when the following ships of war came sailing up, as if in confidence of victory; as soon as they came within reach of our guns, we began to fire;—they were soon abreast of our little fort,—let go their anchors with springs upon their cables, and began their attack most furiously about ten o'clock, A.M., and continued a brisk fire till about eight o'clock, P.M.

"The ships were the Bristol, of fifty guns, Commodore Sir Peter Parker: the captain had his arm shot off, forty-four men killed, and thirty wounded. The Experiment, fifty guns: the captain lost his arm, fifty-seven killed and thirty wounded. The Active, twenty-eight guns: one lieutenant killed, and one man wounded. The Sole-Bay, twenty-eight guns: two killed, three or four wounded. The Syren, twenty-eight guns. The Acteon, twenty-eight guns: burnt; one lieutenant killed. The Sphinx, twenty-eight guns: lost her bowsprit. The Friendship, twenty-six guns; an armed vessel taken into service.

"The Thunder-Bomb had the beds of her mortar soon disabled; she threw her shells in a very good direction; most of them fell within the fort; but we had a morass in the middle, that swallowed them up instantly. At one time, the commodore's ship swung round with her stern to the fort, which drew the fire of all the guns that could bear upon her. The words that passed along the platform by officers and men were, 'mind the commodore—mind the two fifty-gun ships'; most of our attention was paid to the two fifty-gun ships, especially the commodore, who, I dare say, was not at all obliged to us for our particular attention to him. During the action, thousands of our fellow-citizens were looking on with anxious hopes and fears, some of whom had their fathers, brothers, and husbands in the battle; whose hearts must have been pierced at every broadside. After some

time, our flag was shot away; their hopes were then gone, and they gave up all for lost! supposing that we had struck our flag and given up the fort. Sergeant Jasper, perceiving that the flag was shot away, and had fallen without the fort, jumped from one of the embrasures, and brought it up through a heavy fire, fixed it upon a spunge staff, and planted it upon the ramparts again. Our flag once more waving in the air, revived the drooping spirits of our friends, and they continued looking on till night had closed the scene, and hid us from their view. At length, the British gave up the conflict; the ships slipped their cables, and dropped down with the tide and out of the reach of our guns. When the firing had ceased, our friends for a time were again in an unhappy suspense, not knowing our fate; till they received an account by a despatch boat which I sent up to town to acquaint them that the British ships had retired, and that we were victorious."*

A few days after this battle, the lady of Major Elliott presented an elegant pair of colors to Colonel MOULTRIE and Lieutenant Colonel Motte, of the gallant second regiment. These colors were honorably supported; they were planted on the British lines at Savannah, where one of them was lost; the other was saved by the brave Sergeant Jasper, who was mortally wounded in the act; but it was afterwards taken at the fall of Charleston.

"As soon as the British had retreated after the battle of Sullivan's Island, the state was left tranquil and free from any apprehension of another attack." General MOULTRIE was sent with an expedition to Georgia; when he arrived at Savannah, preparations were made for an attack on St. Augustine, where his brother was governor; but part of the troops being recalled, the project was abandoned. Shortly after this, the colonial troops were put on the continental establishment, and Colonel MOULTRIE came into the line of the army, as a brigadier general, his commission being dated September 16, 1776.

When General Lincoln took command of the southern department, General MOULTRIE was ordered to join the army with his brigade at Purisburgh. In February, 1779, with a detachment, consisting of only a few hundred militia, and nine continental troops, he defeated a superior force of the enemy near Beaufort. General Lincoln soon after marched into Georgia, and left General MOULTRIE with about twelve hundred militia and a few continentals, to watch the motions

* The fort on Sullivan's Island was, by the legislature, afterwards named Fort Moultrie.

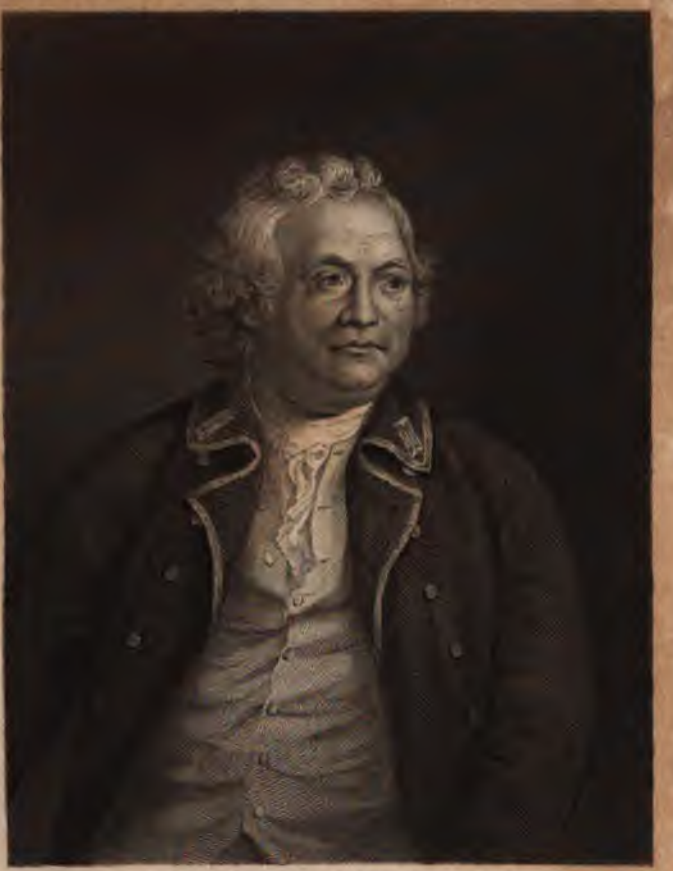
of the British, who were by this time collecting a force for the purpose of striking at some important point. In the beginning of May, they advanced towards Charleston, with nearly four thousand men under the command of General Provost. MOULTRIE retired before them, destroying the bridges on the route, and impeding them as opportunities offered; he at the same time kept the governor in Charleston, and General Lincoln, informed of the enemy's advance. In a few days he reached Charleston, but with only six hundred men; the rest had deserted by the way. General Provost appeared before the town; but a few cannon shot stopped his progress. The governor and his council were so much alarmed at the prospect of a siege, that they requested a parley. General Provost offered protection to such of the inhabitants as would accept of it, and to receive the rest as prisoners of war. This proposal was rejected, and a proposition of neutrality during the war was sent. The military were so decidedly opposed to such a spiritless submission, that it was with difficulty an officer could be prevailed on to bear the message. When it was at last delivered, General Provost replied that he had nothing to do with the governor, his business was with General MOULTRIE. "Upon this," says the general, "the governor and council looked very grave and steadfastly on each other and on me, not knowing what I would say. After a little pause, I said, 'Gentlemen, you see how the matter stands,—the point is this: am I to deliver you up prisoners of war, or not?' Some replied 'Yes.' I then said, 'I am determined not to deliver you up prisoners of war. We will fight it out.' I immediately ordered a flag to be waved from the gate, which was the signal agreed upon, should the conference be at an end." But all were disappointed in the result; for the next morning, at daylight, it was discovered, that the enemy had decamped. They had intercepted a letter from General Lincoln, who was in their rear with four thousand men. In the spring of 1780, General MOULTRIE again distinguished himself at the siege of Charleston; which, after holding out upwards of a month, capitulated, and he remained a prisoner of war until February, 1782, when he was exchanged for General Burgoyne. He was promoted by congress to the rank of major general, but was not afterwards engaged in military operations, as at that period the British held no strong post in South Carolina, except Charleston, and that they evacuated in December of the same year.

While he was a prisoner on parole, a proposition was made to him by Lord Charles Montague, under the guise of private friendship, to

leave the service, accept a British commission, and save his reputation by quitting the country; to which he replied in a dignified and becoming manner, in a letter, from which, the following is extracted:

"When I entered into this contest, I did it with the most mature deliberation, and with a determined resolution to risk my life and fortune in the cause. The hardships I have gone through I look back upon with the greatest pleasure: I shall continue to go on as I have begun, that my example may encourage the youths of America to stand forth in defence of their rights and liberties. You call upon me now, and tell me I have a fair opening of quitting that service with honor and reputation to myself by going to Jamaica. Good God! Is it possible that such an idea could arise in the breast of a man of honor! I am sorry you should imagine I have so little regard for my own reputation as to listen to such dishonorable proposals; would you wish to have that man whom you have honored with your friendship, play the traitor? Surely not. You say, by quitting this country for a short time, I might avoid disagreeable conversations, and might return at my own leisure, and take possession of my estates for myself and family; but you have forgot to tell me how I am to get rid of the feelings of an injured honest heart, and where to hide myself from myself;—could I be guilty of so much baseness I should hate myself and shun mankind. This would be a fatal exchange from my present situation, with an easy and approved conscience of having done my duty, and conducted myself as a man of honor."

The only authentic information we have been able to obtain of the life of General Moultrie before, or subsequent to the revolution is, that he entered the field of Mars as the captain of a light infantry company in a provincial regiment, and was engaged in an expedition against the Cherokee Indians in 1761. He was governor of South Carolina, in 1785–6, and again in 1794–5. He died September 27th, 1805, in the seventy-fifth year of his age.



MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM.

Israel Putnam

ISRAEL PUTNAM.

There are some names connected with the history of our country which associate themselves with the recollections of our juvenile perusations. Such is that of the intrepid man whose memory we are about to sketch. His adventures, often bordering on the marvellous, have excited the admiration of our youth; and his daring, prompt, and skilful military manœuvres, through several years of the arduous hitherto war, are still dwelt on with pleasure by the remnant of our time-worn veterans. Endowed by nature with a powerful frame, a vigorous intellect, undaunted courage, and a spirit of enterprise, he was peculiarly fitted to encounter the perils and hardships of the times that "tried men's souls." To an early education he was but little indebted; but his own observation, his intercourse with men, and his experience during a service of several years with the British and provincial forces engaged in the conquest of Canada, enabled him to perform the duties of his high military rank, with honor to himself and usefulness to his country. In his disposition he was affable, gentle, generous, and noble; his uprightness commanded confidence, and "his word (like Petrarch's) was sufficient."

Major General Israel Putnam descended from one of the earliest settlers of Salem, Massachusetts, in which town he was born, on the 7th of January, 1718. In his youth he excelled in athletic exercises. He married at an early age, and removed to Pomfret, in Connecticut, where for several years he cultivated an extensive tract of land. Here he first exhibited the daring of his character in the destruction of a she-wolf, which, after a long pursuit, had taken refuge in a dark and narrow den, about forty feet from the entrance. In 1755, when the war between England and France was prosecuted in America, he was appointed a captain of rangers in the provincial regiment under Colonel Lyman. He afterwards served under Generals Abercrombie and Amherst, on the frontiers and in Canada, and rose to the rank of lieutenant colonel. During that period, being frequently in situations which required not only courage but unwea-

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ried watchfulness and presence of mind, he gained the esteem and confidence of the army.

Of his numerous adventures by flood and field during this period, the following will serve as examples, characteristic of the man and of the service in which he was engaged.

When stationed at Fort Miller, by his personal exertions a magazine, containing three hundred barrels of powder, was saved from destruction by a fire which consumed the barracks and burned through the outside planks of the magazine.

Being on the eastern shore of the Hudson, near the rapids in the vicinity of Fort Miller, with a batteau and five men, he received a signal from the opposite bank that a large body of savages were in his rear. To stay and be sacrificed, to attempt crossing and be shot, or to go down the falls, were the sole alternatives that presented themselves to his choice. So instantaneously was the latter adopted, that one man was of necessity left, and fell a victim to savage barbarity. The Indians fired on the batteau before it could be got under way; and no sooner had it escaped by the rapidity of the current beyond the reach of musket-shot, than destruction seemed only to have been avoided in one form to be encountered in another. Prominent rocks, latent shelves, absorbing eddies, and abrupt descents for a quarter of a mile, afforded scarcely the smallest chance of escaping. PUTNAM placed himself sedately at the helm; his com panions saw him with astonishment avoiding the rocks and yawning gulfs which threatened instant destruction, and safely shooting through the only passage, they at last viewed the batteau gliding on the smooth surface of the stream below.

While engaged against the French and Indians near Lake George, Major PUTNAM was ambuscaded and attacked by a superior force. His officers and men, animated by his example, behaved with great bravery; but after several discharges his fusee missed fire. A large and well-proportioned Indian, with a tremendous war-whoop, instantly sprang forward with his lifted hatchet and compelled him to surrender, and having disarmed and bound him to a tree, returned to the battle. The Indians having changed their position, he was directly between the fires of the two parties, the balls flying incessantly from each side. Many struck the tree, and several passed through his coat. In this state of jeopardy he remained more than an hour. The enemy having again recovered the ground, a young savage amused himself by hurling his tomahawk to see how near he could throw it without striking his head. The weapon struck in the

tree a number of times at a hair's breadth from the mark. After the Indian had finished his amusement, a French officer approached and levelled his fusee within a foot of his breast; but fortunately it missed fire. Besides many base outrages upon this defenceless prisoner, they inflicted a deep wound with a tomahawk upon his left cheek, and this mark remained during life. The enemy were at length driven from the field; PUTNAM was untied by the Indian who had made him prisoner, and was stripped of his coat, vest, stockings, and shoes, strongly pinioned, and loaded with packs. On the march through the wilderness, Major PUTNAM became so exhausted, that he preferred death to a longer continuance in distress. A French officer now interposed, and the Indian who captured him gave him a pair of moccasons. The savages being determined to roast him alive, stripped him naked, bound him to a tree, piled combustibles in a circle round him, and, with horrid screams and yells, set the pile on fire. He soon began to feel the scorching heat, and as he shrunk from its approach by shifting sides, his inhuman tormentors demonstrated their joy by yells and dances. "When the bitterness of death was in a manner past, and nature, with a feeble struggle, was quitting its last hold on sublunary things," a French officer rushed through the crowd, scattered the burning brands, and unbound the victim. The next day Major PUTNAM was obliged to march, but was excused from carrying any burden. After having been examined by the Marquis de Montcalm, he was conducted to Montreal by a French officer, and treated with great humanity. At that place, among other prisoners, was Colonel Peter Schuyler, a provincial officer, by whose assistance he was soon after exchanged.

At the expiration of ten years from his first receiving a commission, after having seen as much service, endured as many hardships, encountered as many dangers, and acquired as many laurels, as any officer of his rank, he with great satisfaction laid aside his uniform, and returned to his plough. No character stood fairer in the public estimation for integrity, bravery, and patriotism. It was proverbially said, as well by British as provincial officers, that, in a service of great peril and hardship, "*he dared to lead where any dared to follow.*"

At the commencement of the struggle between the American colonies and the mother country, while many citizens who had witnessed the power of the British nation, stood aloof, PUTNAM was among the first and most conspicuous who engaged in the glorious cause. At Boston he took frequent opportunities of con-

versing on the subject with General Gage, Lord Percy, Major Small, and other officers with whom he had formerly served. Being questioned, in case the dispute should proceed to hostilities, what part he would really take, he answered, "with his country; and that, whatever might happen, he was prepared to abide the consequence."

On hearing of the battle at Lexington, Colonel PUTNAM left his plough in the middle of the field, and, without changing his clothes, repaired to Cambridge, riding in a single day one hundred miles. He was soon appointed a major general in the provincial army, then to be raised, and, returning to Connecticut, he made no delay in bringing on a body of troops. Not long after his appointment, General Gage, unwilling that so valuable an officer should act in opposition, privately conveyed to him a proposal, that if he would quit the *rebel party*, he might rely on being made a major general in the British establishment, and receiving an ample pecuniary compensation for his services; but he spurned the offer. On the 16th of June, 1775, it was determined in a council of war, at which General PUTNAM assisted, that a fortified post should be established at, or near Bunker Hill. General PUTNAM marched with the first detachment, and commenced the work; he was the principal engineer who traced the lines of the redoubt on Breed's Hill, and he continued most of the night with the workmen. At sunrise on the morning of the 17th, he had taken his station; and he participated in the danger as well as the glory of that day. He was, it is believed, considered as having the general superintendence of the expedition. As the enemy advanced, General PUTNAM rode through the line of his own troops, and ordered that no one should fire till they arrived within eight rods, nor any one until commanded. Powder was scarce, and must not be wasted. They should not fire at the enemy till they could see the white of their eyes, and then fire low, and take aim at their waistbands. "You are all marksmen," he added, "and can kill a squirrel at a hundred yards; reserve your fire, and the enemy will be destroyed." During the heat of the battle, PUTNAM was seen riding from front to rear, and from place to place, where his presence was most needed, animating both officers and men, his sword waving in the air, threatening to cut down the first who should disobey orders, or act a cowardly part. At one time the gallant Major Small was left standing alone, every one shot down about him. The never erring muskets were levelled at him, and a soldier's fate was his inevitable destiny, had not PUTNAM at the instant appeared. Each

recognised in the other an old friend and fellow-soldier—the tie was sacred—PUTNAM threw up the deadly muskets with his sword, and arrested his fate. He begged his men to spare that officer, as dear to him as a brother. The general's humane and chivalrous generosity excited admiration, and his friend retired unhurt.

Both the poet and the painter have placed PUTNAM in the rear of the retreating troops.

> "There strides bold PUTNAM, and from all the plains
> Calls the tired host, the tardy rear sustains,
> And, mid the whizzing deaths that fill the air
> Waves back his sword, and dares the following war."
>
> BARLOW'S VISION OF COLUMBUS, and
> TRUMBULL'S BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL.

In connection with this part of our subject, we cannot avoid adding the following letter from Colonel John Trumbull, an officer in the revolutionary war, and now the president of the American Academy of the Fine Arts, to Daniel Putnam, esq., dated "New York, March 30, 1818."

"In the summer of 1786, I became acquainted in London with Colonel John Small, of the British army, who had served in America many years, and had known General PUTNAM intimately during the war of Canada, from 1756 to 1763. From him I had the following anecdote respecting the battle of Bunker Hill. I shall nearly repeat his words. Looking at the picture, which I had then almost completed, he said, 'I do n't like the situation in which you have placed my old friend PUTNAM—you have not done him justice. I wish you to alter that part of your picture, and introduce a circumstance which actually happened, and which I can never forget. When the British troops advanced the second time to the attack of the redoubt, I, with other officers, was in front of the line to encourage the men. We had advanced very near the works undisturbed, when an irregular fire, like a feu de joie, was poured in on us—it was cruelly fatal. The troops fell back; and when I looked to the right and left, I saw not one officer standing. I glanced my eye to the enemy, and saw several young men levelling their pieces at me—I knew their excellence as marksmen, and considered myself gone. At this moment my old friend PUTNAM rushed forward, and striking up the muzzles of their pieces with his sword, cried out, 'For God's sake, my lads, do n't fire at that man—I love him as I do my brother.' We were so near each other, that I heard his words distinctly. He was obeyed—I bowed, thanked him, and walked away unmolested.'"

When, in July 1775, General Washington arrived at Cambridge, he found General PUTNAM industriously engaged in accelerating the construction of the necessary defences. His great activity and personal industry, the undisguised frankness of his disposition, and the peculiar interest which he discovered in every thing pertaining to the army, soon attracted the attention of the commander in chief; a firm friendship was cemented between these two generals, which continued undiminished till separated by death. Washington having divided the army into three grand divisions, consisting of about twelve regiments each, he appointed Major General Ward to command the right wing, Major General Lee the left wing, and Major General PUTNAM the reserve.

Immediately after the British army evacuated Boston, on the 17th of March, 1776, General Washington ordered the greater part of his army to New York, in order to secure that city from an attack; and detached General PUTNAM, with instructions to "make the best despatch in getting to New York, to assume the command, and immediately proceed in continuing to execute the plan proposed by Major General Lee, for fortifying that city, and securing the passes of the East and North rivers." On his arrival, he issued his orders, enjoining on the soldiers the strictest observance of order, and prohibiting the inhabitants from all intercourse with the British fleet. The consequence was, that in a short time all the British armed vessels sailed out of the harbor. The commander in chief arrived in New York about the middle of April, and in his first public orders returned thanks to the officers who had successively commanded at New York, for the many works of defence which had been so expeditiously erected.

General Washington being required by congress to visit Philadelphia, General PUTNAM was the commander of the army during his absence, from the 21st of May to the 6th of June. The most important duties devolved upon him, which were executed in a manner the most effectual and satisfactory.

It was but two days previous to the battle on Long Island, that General PUTNAM was ordered to the command of that post; and he assisted in the arduous and complicated difficulties of that masterly retreat. In the memorable and distressing flight of the American army through New Jersey, in 1776, he was always near, always the friend, the supporter, and confidant of his chief. After reaching the western bank of the Delaware with the rear of the army, he was ordered to Philadelphia, to fortify and defend that city against a meditated attack. When in the summer of 1777, Fort Montgomery

was captured by the enemy, and it was determined to erect another fortification on the banks of the Hudson for the defence of that river, the commander in chief left it wholly to the judgment of General PUTNAM to fix on the spot, who decided in favor of West Point.

In the battle of Princeton, Captain M'Pherson, of the 17th British regiment, was desperately wounded and left with the dead. General PUTNAM found him languishing in extreme distress, without a surgeon, without accommodation, and without a friend. He immediately caused every possible comfort to be administered to him. "While the recovery of Captain M'Pherson was doubtful, he desired that General PUTNAM would permit a friend in the British army at Brunswick to come and assist him in making his will. General PUTNAM, who had then only fifty men in his whole command, was sadly embarrassed by the proposition. He was not willing that a British officer should spy out the weakness of his post; and it was not in his nature to refuse complying with a dictate of humanity. He luckily bethought himself of an expedient, which he hastened to put in practice. A flag was despatched with Captain M'Pherson's request, but under an injunction not to return with his friend until night. In the evening, lights were placed in all the rooms of the college, (at Princeton,) and in every apartment of the vacant houses throughout the town. During the whole night, the fifty men, sometimes altogether and sometimes in small detachments, were marched from different quarters by the house in which M'Pherson lay. Afterwards it was known that the officer, on his return, reported that General PUTNAM's army, upon the most moderate calculation, could not consist of less than four or five thousand men."

While General PUTNAM was posted at Peekskill, a person by the name of Palmer, who was a lieutenant in the tory levies, was detected in his camp. Governor Tryon reclaimed him as a British officer, and threatened vengeance in case he should be executed. General PUTNAM wrote the following pithy reply.

"Sir,—Nathan Palmer, a lieutenant in your king's service, was taken in my camp as a *spy*—he was tried as a *spy*—he was condemned as a *spy*—and you may rest assured, sir, he shall be hanged as a *spy*. "I have the honor to be, &c.,

"ISRAEL PUTNAM.

"*His Excellency Governor Tryon.*

"P. S. Afternoon. He is hanged."

In the winter of 1778, the Connecticut troops, "who had been badly fed, badly clothed, and worse paid, formed the design of marching to Hartford, where the general assembly was then in session, and demanding redress. General PUTNAM, hearing that the second brigade was under arms for this purpose, mounted his horse, galloped to the cantonment, and addressed them. After the several regiments had received the general as he rode along the line, with drums beating and presented arms, the sergeants who had then the command brought the men to an order, in which position they continued while he was speaking. He then directed them to shoulder, march to their regimental parades, and lodge arms; all which they executed with apparent good humor."

About the middle of the winter of 1778, while General PUTNAM was on a visit to his outpost at Horseneck, he found Governor Tryon advancing upon him with a corps of fifteen hundred men. To oppose these, General PUTNAM had only a picquet of one hundred and fifty men, and two iron field-pieces without horses or drag-ropes. He, however, planted his cannon on the high ground, and retarded their approach by firing several times, until, perceiving the horse (supported by the infantry) about to charge, he ordered the picquet to provide for their safety by retiring to a swamp inaccessible to horse, and secured his own by riding down the steep declivity at the church upon a full trot. This hill was so steep where he descended, as to have seventy stone steps, for the accommodation of foot passengers. Here the dragoons, who were but a sword's length from him, stopped short and fired at him; and before they could gain the valley, by going round the hill, he was far beyond their reach. Without any other injury than a bullet-hole in his beaver, he continued his route unmolested to Stamford, where he collected some militia, and in turn pursued Governor Tryon and his party.

In December, 1779, while on his return from Connecticut to head quarters, this venerable man was attacked by a paralytic affection, under which he languished till the 29th of May, 1790, when his honorable and useful life was brought to a final close, at Brooklyn, Connecticut.

BIBLIOTHECA BODLEIANA

Engraved by T.B.Welch from a drawing by J.W. ... after Gilbert.

TIMOTHY PICKERING.

T Pickering.

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TIMOTHY PICKERING.

It has often been remarked that great occasions are required to produce great men,—it would, perhaps, be more precisely accurate to say, that great men can only be brought into striking positions, and presented conspicuously to view, on great occasions. There is, it is probable, nearly an equal proportion of intellectual and moral energy diffused throughout each generation, and existing at every period. In seasons of tranquillity and repose, there is but little to distinguish one individual from another beyond the range of private observation; but when circumstances of an agitating nature are in operation, each individual catches a portion of the general excitement, and distinct direction is given to the development of his character.

We find, accordingly, that the eventful era of the American revolution was fruitful in great men. They sprang up in every quarter; and presented in the qualities of their minds and the circumstances of their lives, a spectacle of infinite variety. In this numerous and interesting assemblage, there was none whose history and character were more marked by strong, impressive, and distinguishing traits, than the subject of this memoir.

Timothy Pickering was born in Salem, Massachusetts, on the 17th July, 1745. The family had emigrated from England at a very early period, and maintained from the beginning, as it does to this hour, a high degree of respectability and influence. The name of Pickering was distinguished in the field as well as in the senate, throughout the contests for liberty in the mother country, which resulted in the establishment of the commonwealth; and its representatives in America have always been found among the most resolute and unwavering advocates of the same cause, from the earliest settlement of the colony of Massachusetts, until its triumph was secured by the successful issue of the revolution.

At the age of fourteen, he became a member of Harvard university in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and received the honors of the college

in 1763. Upon leaving the university, and entering the scenes of active life, he found himself in the midst of influences, which attracted his attention to the great subjects of the rights of the people and the powers of the government. The controversy between Great Britain and her colonies was then beginning to awaken a lively and universal interest, and his ardent and energetic mind became deeply engaged in its progress, and intensely alive to the momentous importance of its issue.

The same fervent zeal for liberty and truth, which led him to enter with such spirit into the political questions of the day, seemed to actuate him on all occasions, during the whole course of his life. In the political movements of the times, he was engaged in the various committees and meetings of the whigs in Salem and its vicinity; and his powerful pen was employed in drawing up their correspondence, memorials, remonstrances, and resolutions. His productions of this kind, are among the best specimens of the political literature of the period.

Before the war broke out, he was elected register of deeds by the citizens of the county of Essex; and was appointed by the provisional government of Massachusetts, a judge of the court of common pleas. He was also appointed sole judge of the admiralty court, established in pursuance of an act of the general congress, for the district in which he resided, until after the commencement of hostilities; when he resigned it for the more urgent and perilous duties of the camp.

His clear and sagacious mind foresaw that the controversy would soon and inevitably reach that point, when it would be necessary to put it to the issue of the bayonet, and he exerted himself to prepare his countrymen for the emergency.

As colonel of the Essex militia, he devoted himself to the acquisition of a thorough knowledge of military tactics, and labored to diffuse it among his subaltern officers, and throughout his command. He published a work on the subject; and in a spirit in harmony with that of his valiant and pious puritan ancestors, and congenial with the whole history of his own life, he went at regular and frequent intervals for a long period, (and of course at a great expense of time and money,) to Marblehead, a distance of five miles, for the double purpose of disciplining and drilling the inhabitants in the art of war, to defend their country from its enemies; and of instructing them in sacred music, in the exercises of which he took unabated delight to the day of his death; that in their religious assemblies they might offer a more acceptable and effectual worship to Him who is the Gon

of Battles, and in whose arm they were to put their trust, in the unequal and awful conflict then impending. In the year 1774, the "Boston Port Bill" was passed by the British parliament; and at the same time, the seat of the colonial government was removed to Salem. The inhabitants of the latter place, having reason to suspect that the government relied upon securing their support by thus transferring to them the advantages of being the metropolis, and the great commercial emporium of the province; thought it their duty to undeceive them on this point, as soon as possible. A town meeting was called, and an address voted to General Gage, expressive of the noble and disinterested sentiments of the people, and concluding with the following words: "By shutting up the port of Boston, some imagine that the course of trade might be turned hither, and to our benefit; but nature, in the formation of our harbor, forbid our becoming rivals in commerce with that convenient mart; and were it otherwise, we must be dead to every idea of justice, lost to all feelings of humanity, could we indulge one thought to seize on wealth, and raise our fortunes on the ruins of our suffering neighbors'."

This address was written by Colonel PICKERING, and he was instructed by his fellow-citizens to deliver it in person to the governor.

The memorable distinction of conducting the first resistance in arms to the power of the mother country, fell to the lot of Colonel PICKERING. On Sunday, the 26th February, 1775, while the inhabitants of Salem were assembled in their usual places of worship, an express from Marblehead brought intelligence, that a regiment of British troops were landing from a transport ship, and preparing to march through Salem, to take possession of some military stores, deposited in the interior of the county. The people were instantly dismissed from their churches, and assembled on the drawbridge, with such means of resistance as were at hand, where they awaited the approach of Colonel Leslie and his regiment. On their arrival at the bridge the draw was raised. Colonel PICKERING presented himself on the opposite side, at the head of the multitude, and a small body of minute-men, drawn up in battle array. He informed Colonel Leslie that the military stores he had come to seize, were the property of the people, and that they would not be surrendered without a struggle. Colonel Leslie then ordered his men to get into a large gondola, attached to the wharf, and in that way secure a passage over the narrow stream. In a moment, Joseph Sprague, Esq., the owner of the boat, and at that time, the major of the Essex

regiment, sprang on board, beat a hole through her side, and sunk her to the bottom. While effecting his purpose he was wounded by the bayonets of the enemy, thus shedding the first blood of the revolution. While these events were taking place, the parties were fast reaching such a degree of exasperation, as would have brought on a general and sanguinary conflict. At this juncture, the Reverend Mr. Barnard interposed, and by his judicious persuasions prevented the approaching catastrophe. He represented to Colonel Leslie that the day was so far spent, that he would not be able to reach the place were the stores were deposited, before night, even if the draw were then let down, and that such was the determined spirit of the militia and people in general, that a passage could not be forced without great carnage on both sides. Colonel Leslie at last concluded to send a message to Colonel PICKERING, pledging his honor, that if he would let him pass the bridge, so that it might appear a voluntary act on his part, he would abandon the attempt to seize the stores, and immediately after passing the bridge, turn back again towards Marblehead. Colonel PICKERING ordered his armed men, and the assembled multitude, to arrange themselves on both sides of the road, facing inwards, the draw was let down, the British regiment marched through the silent ranks of the patriots, advanced a few rods beyond the bridge, countermarched, returned with a quick step to Marblehead, reembarked, and set sail from the harbor that night.

On the 19th of April, of the same year, the war began at Lexington and Concord. While transacting business in his office as register of deeds, Colonel PICKERING received information through a militia officer of Danvers, the town adjacent to Salem on the road to Lexington, of the passage of the British troops towards Concord. He instantly despatched an order to the Danvers company to march towards the scene of the expected conflict; and called together as many of the inhabitants of Salem, as he could collect in the streets. They were of opinion, that as the day was then so far advanced, and the distance so great, it would not be possible for them to render any essential service on the occasion. It was, however, concluded, that it would be best to commence the march, if for no other reason, at least to give evidence of their disposition to encourage, and if possible, aid their brethren who were nearer the scene of action, in defending their property from violence and their soil from invasion. Colonel PICKERING accordingly led them on, and, after a rapid and fatiguing march of more than twenty miles, arrived at the close of the day, just in time to witness the retreat of the British through Charleston.

TIMOTHY PICKERING.

In the year 1776, five thousand men were called for from Massachusetts, to recruit the army, of which number seven hundred was the portion allotted to Essex county. Colonel PICKERING assembled his regiment within the walls of the First Church in Salem, made known the dangers and the wants of the country, exhorted his men to offer their services to the common cause, and at the close of his address, stepped forward as a volunteer. His example was quickly followed, and he soon appeared at the head of a regiment, at the quarters of the commander-in-chief, in New Jersey, who, with his usual discernment, selected him for the office of adjutant general; and he continued in this and other stations, closely attached to the person of Washington, and in the full enjoyment of his confidence, through all the perils and vicissitudes of the war, and the equally trying scenes of his administration of the government to the very close of his public life. Colonel PICKERING was elected by congress a member of the "Continental Board of War;" and when General Greene resigned the highly important post of quarter-master general, he was appointed his successor, at the suggestion of Roger Sherman. At the end of the war, he fixed his residence in Philadelphia, and was soon after deputed by the government of Pennsylvania, to visit their remote interior settlements, for the purpose of adjusting a violent and dangerous controversy, occasioned by the claims of certain emigrants from Connecticut. This commission called for all his courage and resolution, and he discharged his duty with great firmness and success. As illustrative of the angry and lawless passions to which he was exposed, the following facts deserve to be related: his residence was at this time in the celebrated "Vale of Wyoming," near what is now Wilkesbarre. In the month of June, 1788, a gang of ruffians, dressed in disguise, with their faces painted black, tore him from his bed at midnight, pinioned his arms, and conveyed him into the depths of the forest; there they subjected him to privation and ill treatment in a great variety of forms, fastened heavy chains upon his limbs, and repeatedly threatened to take his life. After exhausting all their arts and efforts, in a vain attempt to extort promises, in opposition to what he deemed his duty in the discharge of the trust reposed in him, they concluded not to dip their hands in his blood, and released him from his confinement. At the end of twenty days from his sudden abduction, he reappeared in the midst of his family, who had given up all expectation of ever again seeing him alive. So much was he altered by the sufferings and hardships he had endured, that his children fled from his presence, affrighted

by his haggard, unshaven appearance, and his wife looked upon him with consternation, as upon an apparition.

Colonel PICKERING was a member of the convention called in 1790, to revise the constitution of the state of Pennsylvania, and maintained a highly respectable standing in that distinguished body. He was particularly active in promoting the cause of education, and procured the insertion of the following article: "The legislature shall, as soon as conveniently may be, provide by law for the establishment of schools throughout the state, in such manner that the poor may be taught gratis."

In 1791, President Washington appointed him postmaster general, which office he held until the close of the year 1794. About this time, he was charged with several very important negotiations with the Indians, and was sole agent to treat with those tribes, collectively known as the "Six Nations." On the resignation of General Knox, in 1794, he was made secretary of war, and in 1795, he was appointed by Washington his secretary of state; this office he continued to hold until the month of May, 1800, when he was removed by President John Adams.

Upon leaving the department of state, he returned to his farm in Wyoming county, Pennsylvania, then near the borders of settlement, and devoted himself to the toilsome labors of felling the forest, and cultivating the untilled soil. From this humble seclusion, he was allured by his friends in Massachusetts, who prevailed upon him to return to his native state. By their spontaneous liberality, he was enabled to discharge a considerable debt that had accumulated while he was engaged in the service of his country; and to purchase a small farm in the county of Essex, which he continued to cultivate and superintend to the time of his death. He was elected to the senate of the United States by the legislature of Massachusetts in 1803, and again in 1805. At the expiration of his second term in 1811, he turned his attention exclusively to agriculture. Soon after, he was again drawn into public life, as a member of the "Executive Council;" and also, as a member of the Board of War, appointed in Massachusetts, to protect the state from invasion. In 1814, he was elected to the house of representatives of the United States from the district in which he resided, and finally retired from public office in 1817. He died in Salem, the place of his residence, on the 29th of January, 1829. Agricultural pursuits, an extensive literary and political correspondence, the conversation and company of his friends, the affairs and interests of his immediate neighborhood, and such

objects of a more general nature, as would be likely to engage the attention of a liberal and active mind, and a generous and philanthropic heart, gave employment and vivacity to his last years. His old age, spent in the tranquil and undisturbed society of his family and relatives, was such as might well be desired by the patriot and Christian. He buried his wife not long before his own departure. She united all that is lovely, with all that is venerable, and was every way worthy of being the companion of his life, and the sharer of his trials and his honors. His printed writings on agricultural, political, and miscellaneous subjects, are numerous; and at the time of his death, he was thoroughly preparing himself, to give to the public, a biography of his friend, Alexander Hamilton; a task undertaken at the request of the family of that great man.

Colonel PICKERING inherited from his ancestors a sound and vigorous constitution, and enjoyed through life an uncommon degree of health and strength. His frame was large and athletic, and his figure, countenance, and manners, combined in suggesting the noble energy and Roman fortitude of his character to every beholder. His death, which occurred after a brief illness, was occasioned by a disease in the larger blood vessels near the heart; and although then in his eighty-fourth year, he had experienced none of the infirmities, either physical or mental, usually attendant upon old age.

The qualities of his mind corresponded with those of his body. To whatever subject his thoughts were turned, the most striking views of which it was susceptible were instantly presented. Both in speaking and writing, his style was unrivalled for the simplicity, closeness, and strength of its structure, and the purity and correctness of its language. But it was in his conversational powers that he particularly excelled his contemporaries. It was the enviable privilege of his friends, to contemplate in his admirable descriptions of men, manners, and transactions, a representation of the scenes and circumstances of his long and eventful life, almost as vivid and distinct, as they could have been to an actual, original observer. The integrity of his heart and life were acknowledged and admired, even by his opponents. From childhood to old age, temperance, industry, sincerity, benevolence, honor, and truth, guided his conduct. Although he had been to a very great extent exposed to the allurement of camps and courts, neither a stain nor a shadow was ever cast upon the purity of his heart, the innocence of his life, or the simplicity of his manners. Well did he deserve the tribute which was drawn from the late John Randolph on the floor of congress:

"No man in the United States," said that extraordinary individual, "has been more misunderstood, no man more reviled, than Alexander Hamilton, unless, perhaps, the venerable member from Massachusetts, who generally sits in *that* seat, and whom, whatever may be said of him, all will allow to be an honest man. The other day, when on the compensation question, he was speaking of his own situation; when his voice faltered and his eyes filled at the mention of his poverty; I thought I would have given the riches of Dives himself for his feelings at the moment—for his poverty was not the consequence of idleness, or extravagance, or luxury, nor of the gambling spirit of speculation: it was an honorable poverty after a life spent in laborious service, and in the highest offices of trust under government, during the war of independence, as well as under the present constitution."

Colonel PICKERING was a sincere, thorough, and consistent republican, in his principles, habits, feelings, and manners. He appreciated the value of his own rights, and was ever as ready to protect the rights of others as his own. Reason and revelation both taught him, that we are all of one blood, brethren and equals. The Bible was the object of his habitual study and meditation, and the religion which he had examined and professed in his early manhood, received his obedience and support through a long life, and was found an all-sufficient source of comfort, resignation, peace, and satisfaction, on the bed of death. The memory and example of such a man are among the most precious possessions of his countrymen. His name will be more and more honored, as the lapse of time removes him from the shadow of those clouds of error, prejudice, and passion, which always encompass the passing generation. Even now, the youthful scholar, as he gazes on the noble features of TIMOTHY PICKERING, while exploring the history of the American revolution, proudly acknowledges and ardently admires an assemblage of private and civic virtues, which Plutarch would have rejoiced to commemorate. As he thinks of the venerable patriot bending over his plough, and literally earning his bread by the sweat of his face; the image of Cincinnatus, the great Roman, rises before him; and when he considers his unsullied and unassailable integrity, truth, and justice, Aristides, the good Athenian, seems to be in his presence. But when he contemplates in his single character, their virtues combined, and the whole adorned, illuminated, and hallowed, by the bright and heavenly radiance of the Gospel, he exclaims, "Cedite Romani****** Cedite Graii."

Painted by Jocelin. Engd. by A.B. Durand.

ISAAC SHELBY.

Isaac Shelby

Entered according to the act of Congress in the year 1833 by James Herring in the clerk's office of the District Court of the Southern District of N.York.

ISAAC SHELBY.

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ISAAC SHELBY.

General Evan Shelby, the father of the late Governor Shelby, when a small lad, emigrated from Wales with his father, and settled in the then province of Maryland, near the North mountain, about a century ago. He possessed a strong mind and an iron constitution of body, with great perseverance and unshaken courage. His skill as a hunter and woodsman induced his appointment as captain of a company of rangers, in the French and Indian war, which commenced in 1754; during which year he made several successful expeditions into the Alleghany mountains. He was afterwards appointed a captain in the provincial army destined for the reduction of Fort Du Quesne, now Pittsburg. He fought many severe battles in what is called Braddock's war. He laid out the old Pennsylvania road across the Alleghany mountain, and led the advance of the army under General Forbes, which took possession of Fort Du Quesne in 1758. His gallantry was particularly noticed in the battle fought at Loyal Hanning, now Bedford, Pennsylvania. In 1772 he removed to the Western Waters, and commanded a company in 1774 in the campaign, under Lewis and Dunmore, against the Indians on the Scioto river. He was in the sanguinary battle of 10th October, 1774, at the mouth of the Kenhawa, and near the close of the action was the commanding officer, Colonels Lewis, Fleming, and Field, being killed or disabled. The result gave peace to the frontier at the critical period of the colonies venturing into the eventful contest of the revolution, and deterred the Indians from uniting with the British until 1776—in that year he was appointed by Governor Henry, of Virginia, a major in the army commanded by Colonel Christian against the Cherokees, which destroyed their towns and crops. In 1777 he was appointed colonel of sundry garrisons posted on the frontier of Virginia, and a commissioner, with Colonels Preston and Christian, to hold a treaty with this tribe at the Long Island of the Holston. In 1779 he led a strong expedition against the Chicamauga Indians, on the Tennessee river which

resulted in the destruction of their towns and provisions; and which, occurring at the precise period when General George Rogers Clark captured Governor Hamilton at Vincennes, secured a temporary peace toTennessee and Kentucky, afforded time for the introduction of popu lation and the opening of land offices, and gave a permanence to the settlements of Kentucky and Cumberland, that never could be broken up by British influence, aided by savage intrigue. By the extension of the boundary line between Virginia and North Carolina in 1779, he was included in the latter state, and was appointed by the governor a brigadier general, the first officer of that grade on the Western Waters.

Isaac Shelby, the subject of this memoir, was born on the eleventh day of December, 1750, near to the North mountain, in the province of Maryland, where his father and grandfather settled after their arrival in America from Wales. In that early settlement of the country, which was annoyed during the period of his youth by Indian wars, he obtained only the elements of a plain English education; but, like his father, born with a strong constitution, capable of bearing great privations and fatigue, he was brought up to the use of arms and the pursuit of game.

At the age of twenty-one, he took up his residence in Western Virginia, beyond the Alleghany mountains, and was engaged in the business of feeding and attending to herds of cattle in the extensive natural range which distinguished that section of country. He was a lieutenant in the company of his father in the memorable battle fought 10th October, 1774, at the mouth of the Kenhawa, already mentioned, and, at the close of that campaign, was appointed by Lord Dunmore to be second in command of a garrison, ordered to be erected on the ground where this battle was fought. This was, probably, the most severely contested conflict ever maintained with the north-western Indians; the action continued from sunrise to sunsetting, and the ground, for half a mile along the bank of the Ohio, was alternately occupied by each of the parties in the course of the day. So sanguinary was the contest, that blood was found on each of the trees behind which the parties were posted. The Indians, under the celebrated chief, Cornstalk, abandoned the ground under cover of the night.

Lieutenant Shelby continued in this garrison until it was disbanded, in July, 1775, by order of Governor Dunmore, who was apprehensive it might be held for the benefit of the rebel authorities. He proceeded immediately to Kentucky, and was employed as a

surveyor under Henderson & Co., who styled themselves proprietors of the country, and who had established a regular land office under their purchase from the Cherokees. He resided in the then wilderness of Kentucky for nearly twelve months, when, from continued exposure to the inclemency of the weather, and being without bread or salt, his health was impaired, and he returned home.

In July, 1776, during his absence from home, he was appointed captain of a minute company by the committee of safety in Virginia. In the year 1777, he was appointed, by Governor Henry, a commissary of supplies for an extensive body of militia, posted at different garrisons to guard the frontier settlements, and for a treaty to be held at the Long Island of Holston river, with the Cherokee tribe of Indians. These supplies could not have been obtained nearer than Staunton, Va., a distance of three hundred miles; but by the most indefatigable perseverance, (one of the most conspicuous traits of his character,) he accomplished it to the satisfaction of his country.

In 1778, he was engaged in the commissary department, providing supplies for the continental army, and for an expedition, by the way of Pittsburg, against the north-western Indians. In the early part of 1779, he was appointed by Governor Henry to furnish supplies for the campaign against the Chicamauga Indians, which he effected upon *his own individual credit.* In the spring of that year, he was elected a member of the Virginia legislature from Washington county, and in the fall of that year, was commissioned a major, by Governor Jefferson, in the escort of guards to the commissioners for extending the boundary line between that state and the state of North Carolina. By the extension of that line, his residence was found to be within the limits of the latter state, and shortly afterwards, he was appointed by Governor Caswell a colonel of the new county of Sullivan, established in consequence of the additional territory acquired by the running of that line.

In the summer of 1780, Colonel SHELBY was in Kentucky, locating and securing those lands which he had five years previously marked out and improved for himself, when the intelligence of the surrender of Charleston, and the loss of the army, reached that country. He returned home in July of that year, determined to enter the service of his country, and remain in it until her independence should be secured. He could not continue to be a cool spectator of a contest in which the dearest rights and interests of his country were involved. On his arrival in Sullivan, he found a requisition from General

Charles M'Dowell, requesting him to furnish all the aid in his power to check the enemy, who had overrun the two Southern states, and were on the borders of North Carolina. Colonel SHELBY assembled the militia of his county, called upon them to volunteer their services for a short time on that interesting occasion, and marched, in a few days, with three hundred mounted riflemen, across the Alleghany mountains.

In a short time after his arrival at M'Dowell's camp, near the Cherokee ford of Broad river, Colonel SHELBY, Lieutenant-colonels Sevier and Clarke, the latter a refugee officer from Georgia, were detached with six hundred men to surprise a post of the enemy in front, on the waters of the Pacolet river. It was a strong fort, surrounded by abattis, built in the Cherokee war, and commanded by that distinguished loyalist, Captain Patrick Moore. On the second summons to surrender, after the Americans had surrounded the post within musket shot, Captain Moore surrendered the garrison with one British sergeant major, ninety-three loyalists, and two hundred and fifty stand of arms, loaded with ball and buck-shot, and so arranged at the port-holes as to have repulsed double the number of the American detachment. Shortly after this affair, Colonels SHELBY and Clarke were detached, with six hundred mounted men, to watch the movements of the enemy, and, if possible, cut up his foraging parties. Ferguson, who commanded the enemy, about twenty-five hundred strong, composed of British and tories, with a small squadron of British horse, was an officer of great enterprise, and although only a major in the British line, was a brigadier general in the royal militia establishment, made by the enemy after he had overrun South Carolina, and was esteemed the most distinguished partisan officer in the British army. He made several attempts to surprise Colonel SHELBY, but his designs were baffled. On the first of August, however, his advance, about six or seven hundred strong, came up with the American commander at a place he had chosen for battle, called Cedar Spring, where a sharp conflict ensued for half an hour, when Ferguson approached with his whole force. The Americans then retreated, carrying off the field fifty prisoners, mostly British, including two officers. The enemy made great efforts, for five miles, to regain the prisoners; but the American commander, by forming frequently on the most advantageous ground to give battle, so retarded the pursuit, that the prisoners were placed beyond their reach. The American loss was ten or twelve killed and wounded. It was in the severest part of this action, that Colonel SHELBY's

attention was arrested by the heroic conduct of Colonel Clarke. He often mentioned the circumstance of his ceasing in the midst of the battle, to look with astonishment and admiration at Clarke fighting.

General M'Dowell having received information that five or six hundred tories were encamped at Musgrove's Mill, on the south side of the Enoree, about forty miles distant, again detached Colonels SHELBY, Clarke, and Williams of South Carolina, with about seven hundred horsemen, to surprise and disperse them. Major Ferguson, with his whole force, occupied a position immediately on the route. The American commanders took up their line of march from Smith's ford of Broad river, just before sundown, on the evening of the 18th of August, 1780, continued through the woods until dark, and then pursued a road, leaving Ferguson's camp about three miles to the left. They rode very hard all night, frequently on a gallop, and just at the dawn of day, about a half a mile from the enemy's camp, met a strong patrol party. A short skirmish ensued, and several of them were killed. At that juncture, a countryman, living just at hand, came up and informed that the enemy had been reinforced the evening before with six hundred regular troops, (the Queen's Ameri can regiment, from New York,) under Colonel Innes, destined to reinforce Ferguson's army. The circumstances attending the information were so minute, that no doubt was entertained of its truth. To march on and attack the enemy then seemed to be improper; fatigued and exhausted as were the Americans and their horses, to attempt an escape was impossible. They instantly determined to form a breastwork of old logs and brush, and make the best defence in their power. Captain Inman was sent out with twenty-five men to meet the enemy, and skirmish with them as soon as they crossed the Enoree river. The sound of their drums and bugle horns soon announced their movements. Captain Inman was ordered to fire upon them and retreat, according to his own discretion. This stratagem (which was the suggestion of the captain himself) drew the enemy out in disorder, supposing they had forced the whole party; and when they came up within seventy yards, a most destructive fire commenced from the American riflemen, who were concealed behind the breastwork of logs. It was an hour before the enemy could force the riflemen from their slender breastwork; and just as they began to give way in some parts, Colonel Innes was wounded, and all the British officers, except a subaltern, being previously killed or wounded, and Captain Hawsey, a noted leader among the tories, being shot down, the whole of the enemy's line commenced a retreat.

The Americans pursued them closely, and beat them across the river. In this pursuit, Captain Inman was killed, bravely fighting the enemy hand to hand. Colonel SHELBY commanded the right wing, Colonel Clarke the left, and Colonel Williams the centre. According to M'Call's History of Georgia, the only work in which this battle is noticed, the British loss is stated to be sixty-three killed and one hundred and sixty wounded and taken—the American loss to be four killed and nine wounded. Amongst the former Captain Inman, and amongst the latter, Colonel Clarke and Captain Clarke.

The Americans returned to their horses, and mounted with a determination to be before night at Ninety-Six, at that time a weak British post, distant only thirty miles. At that moment, an express from General M'Dowell came up in great haste, with a short letter in his hand from Governor Caswell, dated on the battle ground, apprizing M'Dowell of the defeat of the American grand army under General Gates, on the 16th, near Camden, and advising him to get out of the way, as the enemy would, no doubt, endeavor to improve their victory to the greatest advantage, by destroying all the small corps of the American army. It was a fortunate circumstance that Colonel SHELBY knew Governor Caswell's handwriting, and what reliance to place upon it; but it was a difficult task to avoid the enemy in his rear, his troops and their horses being fatigued, and encumbered with a large number of British prisoners. These, however, were immediately distributed amongst the companies, so as to make one to every three men, who carried them alternately on horseback, directly towards the mountains. The Americans continued their march all that day and night, and the next day until late in the evening, without even halting to refresh. This long and rapid march saved them; as they were pursued, until late in the afternoon of the second day after the action, by a strong detachment from Ferguson's army. Colonel SHELBY, after seeing the party and prisoners out of danger, retreated to the Western Waters with his followers, and left the prisoners in charge of Colonels Clarke and Williams, to convey them to some point of security in Virginia; for at that moment there was not the appearance of a corps of Americans south of that state. The panic which followed the defeat of Gates and of Sumpter, induced the corps of M'Dowell's army to disperse, some to the west and some to the north. The brilliancy of this affair was obscured, as indeed were all the minor incidents of the previous war, by the deep gloom which overspread the public mind after the disastrous defeat of General Gates.

Ferguson was so solicitous to recapture the prisoners, and to check these daring adventures of the mountaineers, that he made a strenuous effort with his main body to intercept them; but failing of his object, he took post at a place called Gilbert town, from whence he sent the most threatening messages by paroled prisoners to the officers west of the mountains, proclaiming devastation to their country if they did not cease their opposition to the British government.

This was the most disastrous and critical period of the revolutionary war, to the South—no one could see whence a force could be raised to check the enemy in their progress to subjugate this portion of the continent. Cornwallis, with the main army, was posted at Charlotte town, in North Carolina, and Ferguson, with three thousand, at Gilbert town, while many of the best friends of the American government, despairing of the freedom and independence of America, took protection under the British standard. At this gloomy moment, Colonel SHELBY proposed to Colonels Sevier and Campbell, to raise a force from their several counties, march hastily through the mountains, and attack and surprise Ferguson in the night. Accordingly, they collected with their followers, about one thousand strong, on Doe Run, in the spurs of the Alleghany, on the 25th of September, 1780, and the next day commenced their march, when it was discovered that three of Colonel Sevier's men had deserted to the enemy. This disconcerted their first design; and induced them to turn to the left, gain his front, and act as events might suggest. They travelled through mountains almost inaccessible to horsemen. As soon as they entered the level country, they met with Colonel Cleveland with three hundred men, and with Colonels Williams, Lacy, and other refugee officers, who had heard of Cleveland's advance, by which three hundred more were added to the force of the mountaineers. They now considered themselves to be sufficiently strong to encounter Ferguson; but being rather a confused mass, without any head, it was proposed by Colonel SHELBY, in a council of officers, and agreed to, that Colonel Campbell, of the Virginia regiment, an officer of enterprise, patriotism, and good sense, should be appointed to the command; and having determined to pursue Ferguson with all practicable dispatch, two nights before the action they selected the best horses and rifles, and at the dawn of day commenced their march with nine hundred and ten expert marksmen. As Ferguson was their object, they would not be diverted from the main point by any collection of tories in the vicinity of their route. They pursued him for the last thirty-six hours without

alighting from their horses to refresh but once, at the Cowpens for an hour, although the day of the action was so extremely wet, that the men could only keep their guns dry by wrapping their bags, blankets, and hunting shirts around the locks, which exposed their bodies to a heavy and incessant rain during the pursuit.

By the order of march and of battle, Colonel Campbell's regiment formed the right, and Colonel SHELBY'S regiment the left column in the centre: the right wing was composed of Sevier's regiment, Major Winston's and M'Dowell's battalions, commanded by Sevier himself—the left wing was composed of Colonel Cleveland's regiment, the followers of Colonels Williams, Lacy, Hawthorn, and Hill, headed by Colonel Cleveland in person. In this order the mountaineers pursued until they found Ferguson, securely encamped on King's mountain, which was about half a mile long, and from which he declared the evening before, that "GOD ALMIGHTY could not drive him." On approaching the mountain, the two centre columns displayed to the right and left, formed a front, and attacked the enemy, while the right and left wings were marching to surround him. In a few minutes the action became general and severe; continuing furiously for three fourths of an hour, when the enemy being driven from the east to the west end of the mountain, surrendered at discretion. Ferguson was killed, with three hundred and seventy-five of his officers and men, and seven hundred and thirty captured. The Americans had sixty killed and wounded; of the former, Colonel Williams.

This glorious achievement occurred at the most gloomy period of the revolution, and was the first link in the great chain of events to the South, which established the independence of the United States. History has heretofore, though improperly, ascribed this merit to the battle of the Cowpens, in January, 1781; but it belongs, justly, to the victory on King's mountain, which turned the tide of war to the South, as the victory of Trenton, under Washington, and of Bennington, under Stark, did to the North. It was achieved by raw, undisciplined riflemen, without any authority from the government under which they lived, without pay, rations, ammunition, or even the expectance of reward, other than that which results from the noble ambition of advancing the liberty and welfare of their beloved country. It completely dispirited the tories, and so alarmed Cornwallis, who then lay only thirty miles north of King's mountain with the main British army, that on receiving information of Ferguson's total defeat and overthrow by the riflemen from the West, under

Colonels Campbell, SHELBY, Cleveland, and Sevier, and that they were bearing down upon him, he ordered an immediate retreat, marched all night in the utmost confusion, and retrogaded as far back as Winnsborough, sixty or eighty miles, whence he did not attempt to advance until reinforced three months after by General Leslie, with two thousand men from the Chesapeake. In the mean time, the militia of North Carolina assembled in considerable force at New Providence, on the border of South Carolina, under General Davidson—General Smallwood, with Morgan's light corps, and the Maryland line, advanced to the same point. General Gates, with the shattered remains of his army, collected at Hillsborough, also came up, as well as the new levies from Virginia, of one thousand men, under General Stevens;—this force enabled General Greene, who assumed the command early in December, to hold Cornwallis in check.

The legislature of North Carolina passed a vote of thanks to Colonel SHELBY and several other officers, and directed each to be presented with an elegant sword, for his patriotic conduct in the attack and defeat of the enemy on King's mountain, on the memorable 7th October, 1780. This resolution was carried into effect, as to Colonel SHELBY, in the summer of 1813, just at the moment when, in the language of Secretary Monroe, "disclaiming all metaphysical distinctions tending to enfeeble the government," he was about to lead his troops far beyond the limits of the state of which he was governor. The presentation at that particular time afforded a presage of the new glory he was to acquire for himself and country in that eventful campaign.

If any were entitled to special commendation in this band of heroic spirits on King's mountain, the claim of Colonel SHELBY would be well founded. He originated the expedition, and his valor and unshaken resolution contributed to rally the right wing when driven down the mountain by a tremendous charge from the enemy, at the onset of the battle. Nor have the histories of the war at the South done justice to the sagacity and judgment of Colonel SHELBY upon another interesting occasion, just following the affair on King's mountain. As soon as he had placed the prisoners beyond the reach of the enemy, he repaired to the head quarters of General Gates, and suggested to him the plan of detaching General Morgan towards the mountains. The details of this arrangement were submitted by him and approved by Gates, and Greene had the good sense to adopt them, after he assumed the command. The result of his advice was

would have been lost, and the nation deprived of the important results of the memorable victory on the Thames. His gallantry and patriotism on that interesting occasion were acknowledged by the commanding general, and by President Madison; and in resolutions by the legislature of Kentucky, which recognised "his plans and the execution of them as splendid realities, which exact our gratitude and that of his country, and justly entitle him to the applause of posterity." His conduct was approved, also, by a vote of thanks from the congress of the United States, awarding a gold medal as a testimony of its sense of his illustrious services.

In March, 1817, he was selected by President Monroe to fill the department of war; but his advanced age, the details of the office, and his desire, in a period of peace, to remain in private life, induced him to decline an acceptance of it. In 1818, he was commissioned by the president to act in conjunction with General Jackson in holding a treaty with the Chickasaw tribe of Indians, for the purchase of their lands west of the Tennessee river, within the limits of Kentucky and Tennessee, and they obtained a cession of the territory to the United States, which unites the western population, and adds greatly to the defence of the country, in the event of future wars with the savages, or with any European power. This was his last public act.

In February, 1820, he was attacked with a paralytic affection, which disabled his right arm, and which was the occasion of his walking lame on the right leg. His mind continued unimpaired until his death, by apoplexy, on the 18th July, 1826, in the seventy-sixth year of his age. It was a consolation to his afflicted family, to cherish the hope that he was prepared for this event. In the vigor of life, he professed it to be his duty to dedicate himself to God, and to seek an interest in the merits of the Redeemer. He had been for many years a member of the Presbyterian Church, and in his latter days, he was the chief instrument in erecting a house of worship upon his own land.

The vigor of his constitution fitted him to endure active and severe bodily exercise, and the energetic symmetry of his person, united with a peculiar suavity of manner, rendered his deportment impressively dignified; his strong natural sense was aided by close observation on men and things; and the valuable qualities of method and perseverance, imparted success to all his efforts.

BIBLIOTHECA · BODLEIANA

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AARON BURR.

Aaron Burr

Entered according to the act of Congress in the year 1834 by James Herring in the clerks office of the District Court of the Southern District of New York.

AARON ODELL.

Entered according to the act of Congress [illegible]
Court of the Southern District of New York

AARON OGDEN.

THE subject of this memoir is one of the small band of ancient worthies, who, having devoted the prime of life to the service of their country, yet live to witness and enjoy its prosperity and happiness.

In the following sketch of the life of Governor OGDEN it will be noticed, that the narrative of some of the most important scenes in the revolutionary war, vary from the accounts which have heretofore been generally received. Where this is the case, the present record rests on the authority of Colonel OGDEN himself, who, as will be seen, was not one of those who could

> "Behold unmoved the boundless slaughter spread,
> Himself stand idle and his country bleed."

AARON OGDEN was born on the 3d of December, 1756, at Elizabethtown, New Jersey—graduated at Princeton college in September, 1773—is now one of the trustees of that celebrated seat of science, and the first vice-president of the alumni of Nassau Hall, of whom the president is James Madison.

Having been nurtured in whig principles, Mr. OGDEN very early enrolled himself in their defence, in the militia of his native state.

In the winter of 1775–6, a detachment from the first New Jersey regiment, together with a corps of volunteers from Elizabethtown, embarked in a small coasting vessel for the purpose of capturing a ship lying off Sandy Hook, while the Asia, a British ship of the line, and a large tender, were lying in the bay of New York. The expedition put to sea at night, under a strong north wind, and soon after sun rising, they descried the ship they were in quest of; they bore down, laid themselves alongside, and captured her by boarding. One of these boarders was Mr. OGDEN. The ship proved to be the "Blue Mountain Valley," of three hundred tons, loaded with coal, porter, and live stock for the British troops at Boston. In the afternoon the wind came in from the southward, and the prize was safely brought in and secured at Elizabethtown point.

In the spring of 1777 Mr. OGDEN received an appointment in the first New Jersey regiment, in the line of the continental army: he continued in the service until the termination of the war, in the various grades of captain, major of brigade, brigade-major and inspector, and aid-de-camp.

On the 11th of September, 1777, the American army, consisting of about eighteen thousand men, was posted near Chad's ford, on the Brandywine, with that river and a strong abattis in its front; and the enemy, with as large a number, was advancing from the head of Elk, apparently with an intent to cross the Brandywine at this ford, and attack General Washington in his then position; but he, foreseeing that Sir William Howe might turn the right of the American army by crossing a bridge higher up the river, near Birmingham meeting house, was determined in this event to pass his army over the Brandywine at Chad's ford, attack the troops, the heavy artillery, and baggage of the enemy, which might be left behind, and take post in the neighboring high hills of Maryland. The first New Jersey regiment, to which Mr. OGDEN belonged, was posted in advance, prepared to cross the river and commence the attack, in case the enemy should make the expected movement. Colonel Matthias Ogden, who commanded this regiment, despatched his brother, the subject of this memoir, to the commander-in-chief, to inform him that every thing was ready and waiting for the order to advance across the river. Washington was attended by his aids, and informed the bearer of this message, that *he was distracted by contrary intelligence*, and he did not send the expected order.

It seems that Colonel Hamilton, who was one of Washington's aids, had reconnoitred the enemy, and had informed the General that *they were in full march up the river, on the other side of it, towards his right:* at the same time an express arrived from Major General Sullivan, who had been placed on the right for the express purpose of observing the movement of the enemy, that *there were none on this road.*

Colonel Lewis Morris, one of the aids of General Sullivan, within a few years past, informed Mr. OGDEN, that the videts sent out by General Sullivan, had spent their time in drinking at a tavern, and on their return, reported that the enemy were not on that route, upon which he wrote on a drum head his despatch to General Washington, containing this contradictory intelligence. Sir William Howe turned the right of the American army, and compelled Washington to change his front; and thus this battle was won and lost.

At the battle of Monmouth, on the 28th of June, 1778, Major Ogden was brigade-major to the Jersey brigade, which composed a part of the advance of the army under the command of General Lee. This advanced corps marched in two columns, with the proper interval for forming a line of battle, but on approaching the enemy, each column halted and retired simultaneously, without any disposition for making or receiving an attack. They retired, however, in perfect order, and when met by the commander-in-chief, were directed by him to fall into the rear of the main body of his army. At this time Major-General Lord Sterling, to whom Major Ogden was well known, took him as an assistant aid-de-camp, and he as such continued with his lordship during the residue of the day and the succeeding night, in the line of the main body, during which time he was near the person, both of Lord Sterling and of the commander-in-chief, and was the bearer of important orders from each of them. The enemy advanced to a ravine lying in front of the line of the American army, when there ensued a heavy and destructive cannonade from each side for a long time. The enemy at length advanced over the ravine to the attack of our batteries in the line—on perceiving this, Washington inquired of Major Ogden whether his horse still held out, (for the day was intensely hot,) and on being answered in the affirmative, he ordered him to reconnoitre a wood, which lay at some distance to the left, with as much speed as possible; this was done accordingly, and upon his reporting that the enemy had lately been in the occupation of that wood, but had retired, leaving many dead, and many dying with heat; the commander-in-chief immediately said in a loud voice, "we will advance in our turn." He gave his orders accordingly, and the British soldiers were driven back by the points of American bayonets, which turned the fate of the day: the firing from each side soon after ceased, and both armies lay near each other on the ground they had respectively occupied.

In the winter of 1778–9, the Jersey brigade was cantoned at Elizabethtown, in the immediate vicinity of the British army. An attempt to surprise this brigade was made by an expedition from Long Island, under General Grey, called "no flint Grey," on account of his having, on a former occasion, surprised and put to the bayonet a part of General Wayne's brigade at the Paoli, near Philadelphia.

Major Ogden was sleeping in the same room with General Maxwell, who commanded the brigade, when the field officer of the day rode up to the general's quarters and informed him that one of the

pickets had heard the rowing of many boats round Bergen point, up Newark bay. Major OGDEN, knowing that there was no picket on the road leading from the salt meadows lying on this bay, volunteered his service, to reconnoitre that road. On approaching the house next to the meadows, he observed in it a light, and slackened the pace of his horse—the night was remarkably dark, and suddenly he found himself among British soldiers, and within the reach of a British sentinel, who directed him to dismount. Major OGDEN, determined at all hazards to attempt to alarm the garrison, immediately wheeled and put spurs to his horse, expecting a shot, but instead of a shot he received from another sentinel a thrust with a bayonet below the short ribs—he had strength nevertheless to reach the garrison, about two miles distant, and give the alarm. On his return, General Maxwell observed that "the pitcher that often goes down the well, will come up broken at last." He, however, recovered from his wound, but it had well nigh proved fatal to him.

In the campaign of 1779 Major OGDEN served as aid-de-camp to General Maxwell in the successful expedition of Major General Sullivan against the hostile Indians.

Early in the year 1780, an expedition from New York, consisting of eight thousand British and Hessian troops, under the Hessian General, Knyphausen, passed into New Jersey, with a design to attack Washington in his winter quarters at Morristown, with an army consisting then of not more than six thousand effective men.

At this time the Jersey brigade, consisting of about one thousand men, under the command of General Maxwell, to whom the subject of this memoir was aid-de-camp, was stationed on the lines.

The enemy landed, at midnight, at Elizabethtown point, about eighteen miles from Morristown, and advanced unobserved till they fell in with a picket guard, by whose fire, the thigh of General Sterling, of the British army, who led the advance, was broken, which delayed the further advance of this expedition for a very considerable time.

At sun rise they were seen in full march, about four miles from Elizabethtown, on the road to Morris, but their further advance was then checked by the Jersey brigade, in a sharp action of more than an hour, and until its left was turned by the enemy on another road, when it retired to Springfield, a distance of about three miles, in perfect order, and without the least precipitation.

The brigade was then posted behind the river near Springfield, having left standing the bridge over which it had passed. The

enemy advanced as far as the river and bridge, but no farther on that day.

By this time the inhabitants had received the alarm; the militia, in small bodies, were beginning to join the brigade, and the special direction of them was committed to Major OGDEN, who, by his conduct during the day, had acquired the confidence of his general, by having twice saved his brigade from defeat and ruin.

Major OGDEN induced the first small body of militia who had come in, to cross the bridge, conceal themselves among the willow bushes growing by the river, and there to remain until they should be able to give one shot at least, and to return back over the bridge. This was done accordingly, and every man returned safe. It was less difficult to induce the next small party to do the same, and this example was followed, as a matter of course, by every successive body of militia; each man, thus acting for himself, in defence of his home, his wife, and his children, did yeoman service; so that the whole line of the British army before night became engaged in this irregular fight, and at night retreated, taking off with them their dead and wounded, which amounted to a very considerable number.

This instance may be cited as a fair proof that *militia always should be used as irregular, and not as regular troops.*

In about ten days afterwards the enemy again marched out, and burnt Springfield, in presence of greater numbers of regular troops, and three thousand militia, who were organized on that day in regular order. On the retreat of the enemy they were followed by irregular bodies of militia, horse and foot, to hasten their march, and prevent plundering; in this service Major OGDEN's horse was shot under him through the body.

After the resignation of General Maxwell, Captain OGDEN, commanding a company in the light infantry, under Major General the Marquis Lafayette, received an order from the commander-in-chief to attend at head quarters, the next morning, at eight o'clock precisely, when he was met by Washington alone at his tent door, who put into his hands a packet addressed to his excellency Sir Henry Clinton, commander, etc., of the British forces at New York, and at the same time directed him to carry it, with a flag of truce, under an escort of twenty-five dragoons, to the nearest post of the enemy, and deliver it into the hands of the commanding officer there; and that he should get for himself the best horse he could obtain, and *call on the Marquis Lafayette for special instructions.* Major Andrè, of the British army, who was known to be the particular

friend and favorite of Sir Henry Clinton, had been taken, tried, and condemned to death by a general court-martial of American officers, and was then under sentence to be hanged as a spy.

General Lafayette's instructions to Captain OGDEN were, *that he should, if possible, get within the British post, at Powles Hook, and continue there during the night, and that he should privately assure the commanding officer there, without taking him aside for the purpose, that he, Captain* OGDEN, *was instructed to say, that if Sir Henry Clinton would, in any way whatever, suffer Washington to get General Arnold within his power, that Major Andrè should be immediately released.*

Captain OGDEN so managed as to get into the post, where he was politely offered accommodations for the night. No opportunity presented itself until supper, when he was seated next the commanding officer there, into whose ear the communication was whispered; on receiving which he immediately rose from the table, and returned in about two hours from the city of New York, the head quarters of Sir Henry Clinton, with a laconic answer from him, which was communicated in the same private manner, *that a deserter was never given up*, and then added aloud—"Captain OGDEN, your horse will be ready for your departure early in the morning." Thus this benevolent experiment of Washington, in favor of the unfortunate Andrè, failed, and this accomplished scholar and gentleman suffered an ignominious death, while the infamous Arnold was receiving the reward of his treachery to his general and his treason to his country.

The subject of this memoir was a captain of a company of the light infantry of general, the Marquis Lafayette, in his memorable campaign in Virginia, in 1781.

Early in this campaign General Lafayette formed a legionary corps of horse and foot, to be commanded by Major M'Pherson; the foot was composed of one company, selected from each of his three regiments of light infantry—these were all picked men, and always lay between the two armies, and particularly exposed to surprise—which, although frequently attempted, was never effected—and to guard against which required the greatest vigilance; these three companies of infantry were commanded by Captain OGDEN, being the eldest captain.

During this campaign, and before the arrival of Washington, Lord Cornwallis made an attempt "*to catch the boy*," as he used to call Lafayette, by inducing him to believe that he was crossing his whole army from the north to the south side of James river; and

made a demonstration accordingly. General Lafayette discovered this feint, but just in time to save himself, after marching to attack the rear of the enemy, as he supposed; he, however, ordered an attack on the left of the front of the enemy; and Captain OGDEN was ordered with the infantry of this legionary corps, and a body of militia, to march to the left and cover the retreat of the main body, which retreat at the same time was ordered by the general.

After marching some distance as directed, Captain OGDEN discovered the right wing of the British army advancing rapidly to turn the left of our army, when, in order to conceal the comparative smallness of his force, he threw his men into a neighboring wood, and posted them behind a surrounding fence; this caused the enemy to halt and reconnoitre, and form their line of attack, which marched up to charge into the woods. In this, however, they were checked by a galling fire from the men behind the fence; by which means the right wing of the enemy was retarded until the firing on the left had entirely ceased—when Captain OGDEN drew off his men and fell into the rear of the main body, and so covered its retreat.

At the siege of Yorktown, Captain OGDEN, at the head of his company, gallantly stormed the left redoubt of the enemy, "and was honored," says Lafayette in an autograph letter before us, "with the peculiar approbation of Washington."

After the termination of the war he applied himself to the study of the law, and was admitted by the supreme court of New Jersey, to the degrees successively of an attorney, a counsellor, and sergeant-at-law, and by the corporation of Nassau Hall, at Princeton, to the degree of Doctor of Laws.

In the year 1799, and when in full practice at the bar, he was appointed to the command of the eleventh regiment of the army of the United States, and a deputy quarter-master-general, in which grades he served until the army was disbanded.

In the year 1800 he was appointed, by the legislature of New Jersey, to be one of the electors of the president and vice-president of the United States, and afterwards one of the commissioners on the part of New Jersey for definitely settling the disputed boundary between that state and the state of New York. The commissioners reported to the legislatures of their respective states, the arguments on both sides, for and against the position, that the middle of the intermediate water was the true boundary line; but the controversy between the states remained unsettled until lately, when that line

was adopted with some special exceptions as to jurisdiction, which were supposed to be mutually advantageous.

In the year 1801 he was appointed one of the senators of the state of New Jersey in the congress of the United States, and served as such until 1803; after which he resumed and continued in an extensive practice of the law, until the year 1812, when he was elected Governor of New Jersey, and the commander-in-chief of its militia. During this period he was appointed a major-general in the army of the United States, then at war with Great Britain, which last appointment he did not accept, on the sole ground that he thought he could be of more use in the command of the militia of New Jersey, then threatened with an invasion, than he probably could be in the regular army. Governor OGDEN appeared before the legislature of the state of New York, about the year 1815, and personally, in an argument before committees of the whole of both houses, made the first attempt to prove that the statute of New York, granting to Mr. Fulton a monopoly of steam boat navigation on all the waters within the jurisdiction of the state, was unconstitutional. This argument was had in support of a petition from him to repeal the law of the state of New York, on the ground that it was contrary to the constitution of the United States. In this argument he was opposed by highly eminent counsel. The bill offered by him passed the house of assembly by a large majority, but was lost in the senate by one vote. Although this bill was lost, it may be ascribed to this first effort ever made against that monopoly, that it was finally *crushed* by a judgment of the supreme court of the United States, on the ground advocated by Governor OGDEN at Albany.

Governor OGDEN is now president-general of the general society of Cincinnati,* in which high rank his predecessors were Generals Washington, Hamilton, and Pinkney; he has also been, for many years, president of the New Jersey state society of that order.

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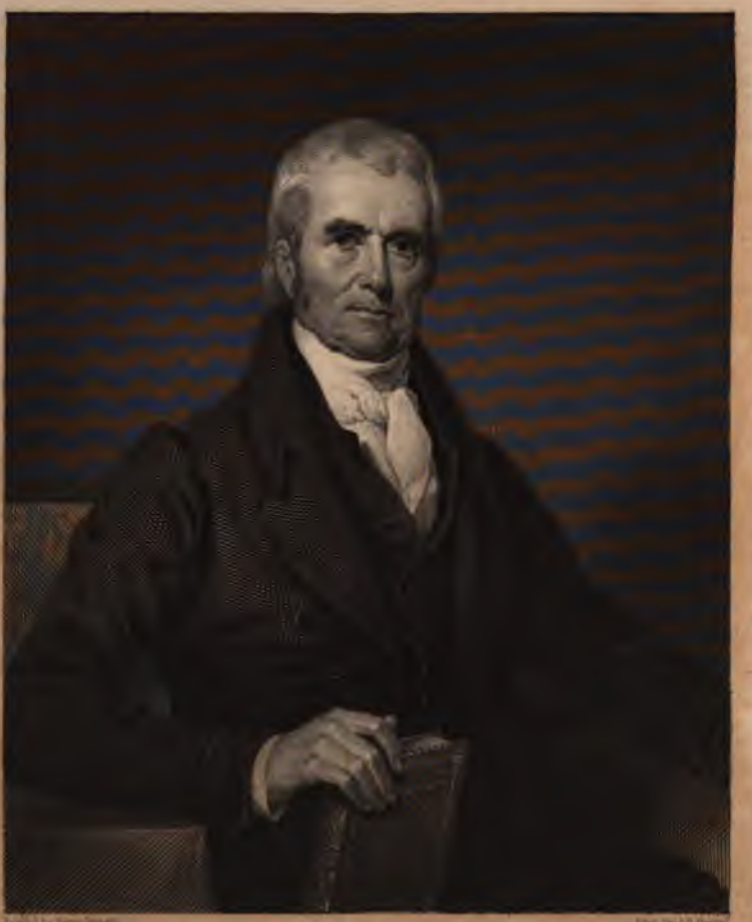
* This society was instituted in 1783, on the disbanding of the army. When the officers were about to become private citizens, they resolved to associate themselves into a SOCIETY OF FRIENDS, to endure as long as they shall endure, or any of their male posterity. The principles on which the society is based, are "an incessant attention to preserve inviolate those exalted rights and liberties of human nature, for which they have fought and bled, and without which, the high rank of a rational being is a curse, instead of a blessing." "An unalterable determination *to promote and cherish between the respective states that* UNION *and national honor so essentially necessary to their happiness*, and the future dignity of the American empire; and to render permanent the cordial affection subsisting among the officers of the allied forces."



JOHN MARSHALL LL.D.

J Marshall

Entered according to the act of Congress in the year 1838 by James Fleming in the clerks office of the District Court of the Southern District of New York

endowments,
first to engage the solicitude of his father—in the local position of

JOHN MARSHALL, LL. D.,

CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE UNITED STATES.

JOHN MARSHALL (the present Chief Justice of the United States,) was born in Fauquier county, in the state of Virginia, on the 24th of September, 1755. His father was Thomas Marshall of the same state, who served with great distinction in the revolutionary war, as a colonel in the line of the continental army. Colonel Marshall was a planter of a very small fortune, and had received but a narrow education. These deficiencies, however, were amply supplied by the gifts of nature. His talents were of a high order, and he cultivated them with great diligence and perseverance, so that he maintained throughout his whole life, among associates of no mean character, the reputation of being a man of extraordinary ability. No better proof need be adduced to justify this opinion, than the fact that he possessed the unbounded confidence, admiration, and reverence of all his children, at the period of life when they were fully able to appreciate his worth and compare him with other men of known eminence. There are those yet living, who have often listened with delight to the praises bestowed on him by filial affection; and have heard the declaration emphatically repeated from the lips of one of his most gifted sons, that his father was an abler man than any of his children. Such praise from such a source is beyond measure precious. It warms while it elevates. It is a tribute of gratitude to the memory of a parent after death has put the last seal upon his character, and at a distance of time, when sorrow has ceased its utterance, and left behind it the power calmly to contemplate his excellence.

Colonel Marshall had fifteen children, seven of whom are now living; and it has long been a matter of public fame, that all the children, females as well as males, possessed superior intellectual endowments. JOHN was the eldest child; and was of course the first to engage the solicitude of his father. In the local position of

the family, at that time almost upon the frontier settlements of the country, (for Fauquier was a frontier county,) it was of course, that the early education of all the children should devolve upon its head. Colonel Marshall superintended the studies of his eldest son, and gave him a decided taste for English literature, and especially for history and poetry. At the age of twelve he had transcribed Pope's Essay on Man, and also some of his moral essays. The love of poetry, thus awakened in his warm and vigorous mind, never ceased to exert a commanding influence over it. He became enamored of the classical writers of the old school, and was instructed by their solid sense, and their beautiful imagery. In the enthusiasm of youth, he often indulged himself in poetical compositions, and freely gave up his hours of leisure to those delicious dreamings of the muse, which (say what we may) constitute some of the purest sources of pleasure in the gay scenes of life, and some of the sweetest consolations in adversity and affliction, throughout every subsequent period of it. It is well known, that he has continued to cultivate this favorite study, and to read with intense interest the gay as well as the loftier productions of the divine art. One of the best recommendations of the taste for poetry in early life is, that it does not die with youth; but affords to maturer years an invigorating energy, and to old age a serene and welcome employment, always within reach, and always coming with a fresh charm. Its gentle influence is then like that so happily treated by Gray. The lover of the muses may truly say,

> I feel the gales that round ye blow
> A momentary bliss bestow,
> As, waving fresh their gladsome wing,
> My weary soul they seem to soothe,
> And redolent of joy and youth
> To breathe a second spring.

The contrast, indeed, is somewhat striking between that close reasoning, which almost rejects the aid of ornament, in the juridical labors of the Chief Justice, and that generous taste, which devotes itself with equal delight to the works of fiction and song. Yet the union has been far less uncommon than slight observers are apt to imagine. Lord Hardwicke and Lord Mansfield had an ardent thirst for general literature, and each of them was a cultivator, if not a devotee, of the lighter productions of the imagination.

There being at that time no grammar school in the part of the country where Colonel Marshall resided, his son was sent, at the age of fourteen, about a hundred miles from home, and placed under the

tuition of a Mr. Campbell, a clergyman of great respectability. He remained with him a year, and then returned home, and was put under the care of a Scotch gentleman, who was just introduced into the parish as pastor; and resided in his father's family. He pursued his classical studies under this gentleman's direction, while he remained in the family, which was about a year; and at the termination of it, he had commenced reading Horace and Livy. His subsequent mastery of the classics was the result of his own efforts, without any other aid than his grammar and dictionary. He never had the benefit of an education at any college, and his attainments in learning have been nursed by the solitary vigils of his own genius. His father, however, continued to superintend his English education, to cherish his love of knowledge, to give a solid cast to his acquirements, and to store his mind with the most valuable materials. He was not merely a watchful parent, but an instructive and affectionate friend, and soon became the most constant, as he was at the time almost the only intelligent, companion of his son. The time not devoted to his society was passed in hardy athletic exercises, and probably to this circumstance is owing that robust constitution, which yet seems fresh and firm in a green old age.

About the time when young MARSHALL entered his eighteenth year, the controversy between Great Britain and her American colonies began to assume a portentous aspect, and engaged, and indeed absorbed, the attention of all the colonists, whether they were young, or old, in private and secluded life, or in political and public bodies. He entered into it with all the zeal and enthusiasm of a youth, full of love for his country and liberty, and deeply sensible of its rights and its wrongs. He devoted much time to acquiring the first rudiments of military exercise in a voluntary independent company, composed of gentlemen of the county; to training a militia company in the neighborhood, and to reading the political essays of the day. For these animating pursuits, the preludes of public resistance, he was quite content to relinquish the classics, and the less inviting, but with reference to his future destiny, the more profitable Commentaries of Sir William Blackstone.

In the summer of 1775, he received an appointment as first lieutenant in a company of minute-men enrolled for actual service, who were assembled in battalion on the first of the ensuing September. In a few days they were ordered to march into the lower country, for the purpose of defending it against a small regular and predatory force commanded by Lord Dunmore. They constituted part of the

troops destined for the relief of Norfolk; and Lieutenant MARSHALL was engaged in the battle of the Great Bridge, where the British troops, under Lord Dunmore, were repulsed with great gallantry. The way being thus opened by the retreat of the British, he marched with the provincials to Norfolk, and was present when that city was set on fire by a detachment from the British ships then lying in the river.

In July, 1776, he was appointed first lieutenant in the eleventh Virginia regiment on the continental establishment; and in the course of the succeeding winter, he marched to the north, where, in May, 1777, he was promoted to the rank of captain. He was subsequently engaged in the skirmish at Iron Hill with the light infantry, and fought in the memorable battles of Brandywine, Germantown, and Monmouth.

That part of the Virginia line, which was not ordered to Charleston (S. C.,) being in effect dissolved by the expiration of the term of enlistment of the soldiers, the officers (among whom was Captain MARSHALL) were, in the winter of 1779–80, directed to return home, in order to take charge of such men as the state legislature should raise for them. It was during this season of inaction that he availed himself of the opportunity of attending a course of law lectures given by Mr. Wythe, afterwards chancellor of the state; and a course of lectures on natural philosophy, given by Mr. Madison, president of William and Mary College in Virginia. He left this college in the summer vacation of 1780, and obtained a license to practice law. In October he returned to the army, and continued in service until the termination of Arnold's invasion. After this period, and before the invasion of Phillips, in February, 1781, there being a redundancy of officers in the Virginia line, he resigned his commission.

During the invasion of Virginia, the courts of law were suspended, and were not reöpened until after the capitulation of Lord Cornwallis. Immediately after that event Mr. MARSHALL commenced the practice of law, and soon rose into distinction at the bar.

In the spring of 1782, he was elected a member of the state legislature, and in the autumn of the same year a member of the executive council. In January, 1783, he married Miss Ambler, the daughter of a gentleman who was then treasurer of the state, and to whom he had become attached before he left the army. This lady lived for nearly fifty years after her marriage, to partake and to enjoy the distinguished honors of her husband. In 1784, he resigned his seat at the council board, in order to return to the bar;

and he was immediately afterwards again elected a member of the legislature for the county of Fauquier, of which he was then only nominally an inhabitant, his actual residence being at Richmond. In 1787 he was elected a member from the county of Henrico; and though at that time earnestly engaged in the duties of his profession, he embarked largely in the political questions which then agitated the state, and indeed the whole confederacy.

Every person at all read in our domestic history must recollect the dangers and difficulties of those days. The termination of the revolutionary war left the country impoverished and exhausted by its expenditures, and the national finances at a low state of depression. The powers of congress under the confederation, which, even during the war, were often prostrated by the neglect of a single state to enforce them, became in the ensuing peace utterly relaxed and inefficient.

Credit, private as well as public, was destroyed. Agriculture and commerce were crippled. The delicate relation of debtor and creditor became daily more and more embarrassed and embarrassing; and, as is usual upon such occasions, every sort of expedient was resorted to by popular leaders, as well as by men of desperate fortunes, to inflame the public mind, and to bring into odium those who labored to preserve the public faith, and to establish a more energetic government. The whole country was soon divided into two great parties, the one of which endeavored to put an end to the public evils by the establishment of a government over the Union, which should be adequate to all its exigencies, and act directly on the people; the other was devoted to state authority, jealous of all federal influence, and determined at every hazard to resist its increase.

It is almost unnecessary to say, that Mr. MARSHALL could not remain an idle or indifferent spectator of such scenes. As little doubt could there be of the part he would take in such a contest. He was at once arrayed on the side of Washington and Madison. In Virginia, as every where else, the principal topics of the day were paper money, the collection of taxes, the preservation of public faith, and the administration of civil justice. The parties were nearly equally divided upon all these topics; and the contest concerning them was continually renewed. In such a state of things, every victory was but a temporary and questionable triumph, and every defeat still left enough of hope to excite to new and strenuous exertions. The affairs, too, of the confederacy were then at a crisis. The question of the continuance of the Union, or a separation of the

states, was freely discussed; and, what is almost startling now to repeat, either side of it was maintained without reproach. Mr. Madison was at this time, and had been for two or three years, a member of the house of delegates, and was in fact the author of the resolution for the general convention at Philadelphia to revise the confederation. He was at all times the enlightened advocate of union, and of an efficient federal government, and he received on all occasions the steady support of Mr. MARSHALL. Many have witnessed, with no ordinary emotions, the pleasure with which both of these gentlemen look back upon their coöperation at that period, and the sentiments of profound respect with which they habitually regard each other.

Both of them were members of the convention subsequently called in Virginia for the ratification of the federal constitution. This instrument, having come forth under the auspices of General Washington and other distinguished patriots of the Revolution, was at first favorably received in Virginia, but it soon encountered decided hostility. Its defence was uniformly and most powerfully maintained there by Mr. MARSHALL.

The debates of the Virginia convention are in print. But we have been assured by the highest authority, that the printed volume affords but a very feeble and faint sketch of the actual debates on that occasion, or of the vigor with which every attack was urged, and every onset repelled, against the constitution. The best talents of the state were engaged in the controversy. The principal debates were conducted by Patrick Henry and James Madison, as leaders. But on three great occasions, namely, the debates on the power of taxation, the power over the militia, and the power of the judiciary, Mr. MARSHALL gave free scope to his genius, and argued with a most commanding ability.

It is very difficult for the present generation to conceive the magnitude of the dangers to which we were then exposed, or to realize the extent of the obstacles which were opposed to the adoption of the constitution. Notwithstanding all the sufferings of the people, the acknowledged imbecility of the government, and the almost desperate state of our public affairs, there were men of high character, and patriots too, who clung to the old confederation with an enthusiastic attachment, and saw in the grant of any new powers, indeed of any powers, to a national government, nothing but oppression and tyranny, — slavery of the people and destruction of the state governments on the one hand, and universal despotism

and overwhelming taxation on the other. Time, the great umpire and final judge of these questions, has indeed now abundantly shown how vain were the fears, and how unsound the principles of the opponents of the constitution. The prophecies of its friends have been abundantly fulfilled in the growth and solid prosperity of their country; far, indeed, beyond their most sanguine expectations. But our gratitude can never be too warm to those eminent men who stemmed the torrent of public prejudice, and with a wisdom and prudence, almost surpassing human power, laid the foundations of that government, which saved us at the hour when we were ready to perish. After twenty-five days of ardent and eloquent discussion, to which justice never has been, and never can now be done, (during which nine states adopted the constitution,) the question was carried in its favor in the convention of Virginia by a majority of ten votes only.

The adoption of the constitution of the United States having been thus secured, Mr. MARSHALL immediately formed the determination to relinquish public life, and to devote himself to the arduous duties of his profession.

A man of his eminence could, however, with very great difficulty adhere rigidly to his original resolve. The state legislature having, in December, 1788, passed an act allowing a representative to the city of Richmond, Mr. MARSHALL was almost unanimously invited to become a candidate. With considerable reluctance he yielded to the public wishes, being principally influenced in his acceptance of the station, by the increasing hostility manifested in the state against the national government, and his own anxious desire to give the latter his decided and public support. He continued in the legislature, as a representative of Richmond, for the years 1789, 1790, and 1791. During this period every important measure of the national government was discussed in the state legislature with great freedom, and no inconsiderable acrimony. On these occasions Mr. MARSHALL vindicated the national government with a manly and zealous independence.

After the termination of the session of the legislature, in 1791, Mr. MARSHALL voluntarily retired. But the events which soon afterwards occurred in Europe, and extended a most awakening influence to America, did not long permit him to devote himself to professional pursuits. The French revolution, in its early dawn, was hailed with universal enthusiasm in America. In its progress for a considerable period, it continued to maintain among us an

almost unanimous approbation. Many causes conduced to this result. Our partiality for France, from a grateful recollection of her services in our own revolutionary contest, was ardent and undisguised. It was heightened by the consideration, that she was herself now engaged in a struggle for liberty, and was endeavoring to shake off oppressions under which she had been groaning for centuries. The monarchs in Europe were combined in a mighty league for the suppression of this new and alarming insurrection against the claims of legitimacy. It was not difficult to foresee, that if they were successful in this enterprise, we ourselves had but a questionable security for our own independence. It would be natural for them, after having completed their European conquests, to cast their eyes to the origin of the evil, and to feel that their dynasties were not quite safe, (even though the Atlantic rolled between us and them,) while a living example of liberty, so seductive and so striking, remained in the western hemisphere.

It may be truly said, that our government partook largely of the general interest, and did not hesitate to express it in a manner not incompatible with the strict performance of the duties of neutrality. Mr. MARSHALL was as warmly attached to the cause of France as any of his considerate countrymen.

After the death of Louis XVI., feelings of a different sort began to mix themselves, not only in the public councils, but in private life. Those, whose reflections reached beyond the events of the day, began to entertain fears, lest, in our enthusiasm for the cause of France, we might be plunged into war, and thus jeopard our own vital interests. The task of preserving neutrality was of itself sufficiently difficult when the mass of the people was put in motion by the cheering sounds of liberty and equality, which were wafted on every breeze across the Atlantic. The duty, however, was imperative; and the administration determined to perform it with the most guarded good faith.

The decided part taken by Mr. MARSHALL could not long remain unnoticed. He was attacked with great asperity in the newspapers and pamphlets of the day, and designated, by way of significant reproach, as the coadjutor and friend of Alexander Hamilton.

Against these attacks he defended himself with a zeal and ability proportioned to his own sincere devotion to the cause which he espoused.

At the spring election for the state legislature in the year 1795, Mr. MARSHALL was not a candidate; but he was nevertheless chosen

under somewhat peculiar circumstances. From the time of his withdrawing from the legislature, two opposing candidates had divided the city of Richmond; the one, his intimate friend, and holding the same political sentiments with himself; the other, a most zealous partisan of the opposition. Each election between these gentlemen, who were both popular, had been decided by a small majority, and the approaching contest was entirely doubtful. Mr. MARSHALL attended the polls at an early hour, and gave his vote for his friend. While at the polls, a gentleman demanded that a poll should be opened for Mr. MARSHALL. The latter was greatly surprised at the proposal, and unhesitatingly expressed his dissent; at the same time, he announced his willingness to become a candidate the next year. He retired from the polls, and immediately gave his attendance to the business of one of the courts, which was then in session. A poll was, however, opened for him in his absence by the gentleman who first suggested it, notwithstanding his positive refusal. The election was suspended for a few minutes; a consultation took place among the freeholders; they determined to support him; and in the evening he received the information of his election. A more honorable tribute to his merits could not have been paid; and his election was a most important and timely measure in favor of the administration.

It will be recollected, that the treaty with Great Britain, negotiated by Mr. Jay in 1794, was the subject of universal discussion at this period. No sooner was its ratification advised by the senate, than public meetings were called in all our principal cities, for the purpose of inducing the president to withhold his ratification, and if this object were not attained, then to prevent in congress the passage of the appropriations necessary to carry it into effect. The topics of animadversion were not confined to the expediency of the treaty in its principal provisions, but the bolder ground was assumed, that the negotiation of a commercial treaty by the executive was an unconstitutional act, and an infringement of the power given to congress to regulate commerce. Mr. MARSHALL took an active part in the discussions upon the treaty. Feeling, that the ratification of it was indispensable to the preservation of peace, that its main provisions were essentially beneficial to the United States, and comported with its true dignity and interests; he addressed himself with the most diligent attention to an examination of the nature and extent of all its provisions, and of all the objections urged against it. No state in the Union exhibited a more intense hostility to it than

Virginia, upon the points both of expediency and constitutionality; and in no state were the objections urged with more impassioned and unsparing earnestness. The task, therefore, of meeting and overthrowing them was of no ordinary magnitude, and required all the resources of the ablest mind. Mr. MARSHALL came to the task with a thorough mastery of every topic connected with it. At a public meeting of the citizens of Richmond he carried a series of resolutions, approving the conduct of the executive.

But a more difficult and delicate duty remained to be performed. It was easy to foresee that the controversy would soon find its way from the public forum into the legislative bodies; and would be there renewed with the bitter animosity of party spirit. Indeed, so unpopular was the treaty in Virginia, that Mr. MARSHALL's friends were exceedingly solicitous that he should avoid engaging in any debate in the legislature on the subject, as it would be a sacrifice of the remains of his well deserved popularity; and it might be even questioned if he could there deliver his sentiments without exposure to some rude attacks. His answer to all such suggestions was uniform; that he should not move any measure to excite a debate; but if the subject were brought forward by others, he should, at every hazard, vindicate the administration, and assert his own opinions. He was incapable of shrinking from a just expression of his own independence. The subject was soon introduced by his political opponents, and the constitutional objections were urged with triumphant confidence. That, particularly, which denied the constitutional right of the executive to conclude a commercial treaty, was selected and insisted on as a favorite and unanswerable position. The speech of Mr. MARSHALL on this occasion has been always represented as one of the noblest efforts of his genius. His vast powers of reasoning were employed with the most gratifying success. He demonstrated, not only from the words of the constitution, and the universal practice of nations, that a commercial treaty was within the constitutional powers of the executive, but that this opinion had been maintained and sanctioned by Mr. Jefferson, by the whole delegation of Virginia in congress, and by the leading members in the convention on both sides. His argument was decisive; the constitutional ground was abandoned; and the resolutions of the assembly were confined to a simple disapprobation of the treaty in point of expediency.

The constitutional objections were again urged in congress in the celebrated debate on the British treaty, in the spring of 1796; and

there finally assumed the mitigated shape of a right claimed on the part of congress to grant or withhold appropriations to carry treaties into effect. The higher ground, that commercial treaties were not, when ratified, the supreme law of the land, was abandoned; and the subsequent practice of the government has, without question, under every administration, conformed to the construction vindicated by Mr. MARSHALL. The fame of this admirable argument spread through the Union. Even with his political enemies, it enhanced the elevation of his character; and it brought him at once to the notice of some of the most eminent statesmen who then graced our public councils.

After this period, President Washington invited Mr. MARSHALL to accept the office of attorney general; but he declined it, upon the ground of its interference with his lucrative practice in Virginia. He continued in the state legislature; but did not, from his other engagements, take an active part in the ordinary business. He confined his attention principally to those questions which involved the main interests of the country, and brought into discussion the policy and the principles of the national parties.

Upon the recall of Mr. Monroe as minister, from France, President Washington solicited Mr. MARSHALL to accept the appointment as his successor; but he respectfully declined, and General Pinckney, of South Carolina, was appointed in his stead.

Mr. MARSHALL was not, however, long permitted to act upon his own judgment and choice. The French government refused to receive General Pinckney, as minister from the United States; and the administration, being sincerely anxious to exhaust every measure of conciliation, not incompatible with the national dignity, for the preservation of peace, resorted to the extraordinary measure of sending a commission of three envoys. Within a year from the time of the first offer, Mr. Adams having succeeded to the presidency, appointed Mr. MARSHALL one of these envoys, in conjunction with General Pinckney and Mr. Gerry.

After some hesitation, Mr. MARSHALL accepted the appointment, and soon afterward embarked for Amsterdam. On his arrival at the Hague he met General Pinckney, and having received passports they proceeded to Paris. The mission was unsuccessful; the envoys were never accredited by the French government, and Mr. MARSHALL returned to America in the summer of 1798. Upon him principally devolved the duty of preparing the official despatches. They have been universally attributed to his pen, and are models of skilful

reasoning, forcible illustration, accurate detail, and urbane and dignified moderation. In the annals of our diplomacy there are no papers upon which an American can look back with more unmixed pride and pleasure.

Mr. MARSHALL, on his return home, found that he had sustained no loss by a diminution of professional business, and looked forward to a resumption of his labors with high hopes. He peremptorily refused for a considerable time to become a candidate for congress, and avowed his determination to remain at the bar. At this juncture he was invited by General Washington to pass a few days at Mount Vernon; and having accepted the invitation, he went there in company with Mr. Justice Washington, the nephew of General Washington, and a highly distinguished judge of the supreme court of the United States, whose death the public have recently had occasion to lament.

What took place upon that occasion we happen to have the good fortune to know from an authentic source. General Washington did not for a moment disguise the object of his invitation; it was to urge upon Mr. MARSHALL and Mr. Washington the propriety of their becoming candidates for congress. Mr. Washington yielded to the wishes of his uncle without a struggle. But Mr. MARSHALL resisted on the ground of his situation, and the necessity of attending to his private affairs. The reply of General Washington to these suggestions will never be forgotten by those who heard it. It breathed the spirit of the loftiest virtue and patriotism. He said, that there were crises in national affairs which made it the duty of a citizen to forego his private for the public interest. He considered the country to be then in one of these. He detailed his opinions freely on the nature of the controversy with France, and expressed his conviction, that the best interests of America depended upon the character of the ensuing congress. The conversation was long, animated, and impressive; full of the deepest interest, and the most unreserved confidence. The exhortation of General Washington had its effect. Mr. MARSHALL yielded to his representations, and became a candidate, and was, after an ardent contest, elected, and took his seat in congress in December, 1799. While he was yet a candidate, he was offered a seat on the bench of the supreme court, then vacant by the death of Mr. Justice Iredell. Upon his declining it, President Adams appointed Mr. Justice Washington, who was thus prevented from becoming a member of congress.

The session of congress in the winter of 1799–1800 will for ever

be memorable in the annals of America. Men of the highest talents and most commanding influence in the Union were there assembled, and arrayed with all the hostility of party spirit, and all the zeal of conscious responsibility, against each other. Every important measure of the administration was subjected to the most scrutinizing criticism; and was vindicated with a warmth proportionate to the ability of the attack. Mr. MARSHALL took an active part in the debates, and distinguished himself in a manner which will not easily be forgotten.

In May, 1800, Mr. MARSHALL was, without the slightest personal communication, nominated by the president to the office of secretary of war, upon the dismissal of Mr. M'Henry. We believe that the first information received of it by Mr. MARSHALL was at the department itself, where he went to transact some business previous to his return to Virginia. He immediately wrote a letter, requesting the nomination to be withdrawn by the president. It was not; and his appointment was confirmed by the senate. The rupture between the president and Colonel Pickering, who was then secretary of state, soon afterwards occurred, and Mr. MARSHALL was appointed his successor. This was indeed an appointment in every view most honorable to his merits, and for which he was in the highest degree qualified.

On the 31st day of January, 1801, he became chief justice of the United States, and has continued ever since that period to fill the office with increasing reputation and unsullied dignity.

Splendid, indeed, as has been the judicial career of this eminent man, it is scarcely possible that the extent of his labors, the vigor of his intellect, or the untiring accuracy of his learning, should be duly estimated, except by the profession of which he is so great an ornament. Questions of law rarely assume a cast which introduces them to extensive public notice; and those, which require the highest faculties of mind to master and expound, are commonly so intricate and remote from the ordinary pursuits of life, that the generality of readers do not bring to the examination of them the knowledge necessary to comprehend them, or the curiosity which imparts a relish and flavor to them. For the most part, therefore, the reputation of judges is confined to the narrow limits which embrace the votaries of jurisprudence; and many of those exquisite judgments, which have cost days and nights of the most elaborate study, and for power of thought, beauty of illustration, variety of learning, and elegant demonstration, are justly numbered among the

highest reaches of the human mind, find no admiration beyond the ranks of lawyers, and live only in the dusty repositories of their oracles. The fame of the warrior is for ever imbodied in the history of his country, and is colored with the warm lights reflected back by the praise of many a distant age. The orator and the statesman live not merely in the recollections of their powerful eloquence, or the deep impressions made by them on the character of the generation in which they lived, but are brought forth for public approbation in political debates, in splendid volumes, in collegiate declamations, in the works of rhetoricians, in the school-books of boys, and in the elegant extracts of maturer life.

This is not the place to enter upon a minute survey of the official labors of Mr. CHIEF JUSTICE MARSHALL. However instructive or interesting such a course might be to the profession, the considerations already adverted to, sufficiently admonish us that it would not be very welcome to the mass of other readers. But there is one class of cases which ought not to be overlooked, because it comes home to the business and bosom of every citizen of this country, and is felt in every gradation of life, from the chief magistrate down to the inmate of the cottage. We allude to the grave discussions of constitutional law, which during his time have attracted so much of the talents of the bar in the supreme court, and sometimes agitated the whole nation. If all others of the Chief Justice's juridical arguments had perished, his luminous judgments on these occasions would have given an enviable immortality to his name.

There is in the discharge of this delicate and important duty, which is peculiar to our institutions, a moral grandeur and interest, which it is not easy to over-estimate either in a political or civil view. In no other country on earth are the acts of the legislature liable to be called in question, and even set aside, if they do not conform to the standard of the constitution. Even in England, where the principles of civil liberty are cherished with uncommon ardor, and private justice is administered with a pure and elevated independence, the acts of parliament are, by the very theory of the government, in a legal sense, omnipotent. They cannot be gainsaid or overruled. They form the law of the land, which controls the prerogative and even the descent of the crown itself, and may take away the life and property of the subject without trial and without appeal. The only security is in the moderation of parliament itself and representative responsibility. The case is far otherwise in America. The state and national constitutions form the *supreme law* of the land, and

the judges are sworn to maintain these charters of liberty, or rather these special delegations of power by the people, (who in our governments are alone the depositeries of supreme authority and sovereignty,) in their original vigor and true intendment. It matters not how popular a statute may be, or how commanding the majority by which it has been enacted; it must stand the test of the constitution, or it falls. The humblest citizen may question its constitutionality; and its final fate must be settled upon grave argument and debate by the judges of the land.

This topic is so copious, and of such everlasting consequence to the well-being of this republic, that it furnishes matter for volumes; but we must escape from it with the brief hints already suggested, and resume our previous subject.

Nor is this the mere theory of the constitution. It is a function which has been often performed; and not a few acts of state as well as of national legislation, have been brought to this severe scrutiny; and after the fullest consideration, some have been pronounced to be void, because they were unconstitutional. And these judgments have been acquiesced in, and obeyed, even when they were highly offensive to the pride and sovereignty of the state itself, or affected private and public interests to an incalculable extent. Such, in America, is the majesty of the law. Such is the homage of a free people to the institutions created by themselves.

It is impossible even to look forward to the period, when, according to the course of human events, the grave must close upon his labors, without a profound melancholy. Such men as he are not the ornaments of every and any age; they arise only at distant intervals to enlighten and elevate the human race. They are beings of a superior order, belonging only to centuries, and designed by the beneficence of Providence to work deeply and powerfully upon human affairs. As the American nation advances in its general population and wealth, the constitution is arriving at more and more critical periods of the trial of its principles. The warmest patriots begin to hesitate in their confidence whether a system of government so free, and so beneficent, so just to popular rights, and so true toward natural interests, can and will be enduring. The boldest and most sanguine admirers of republics are pausing, as upon the eve of new events, and new inquiries. They perceive, that it is more than possible, that prosperity may corrupt or enervate us, as it has done all former republics. That there are elements of change and perturbations, which have not hitherto been subjected to rigid

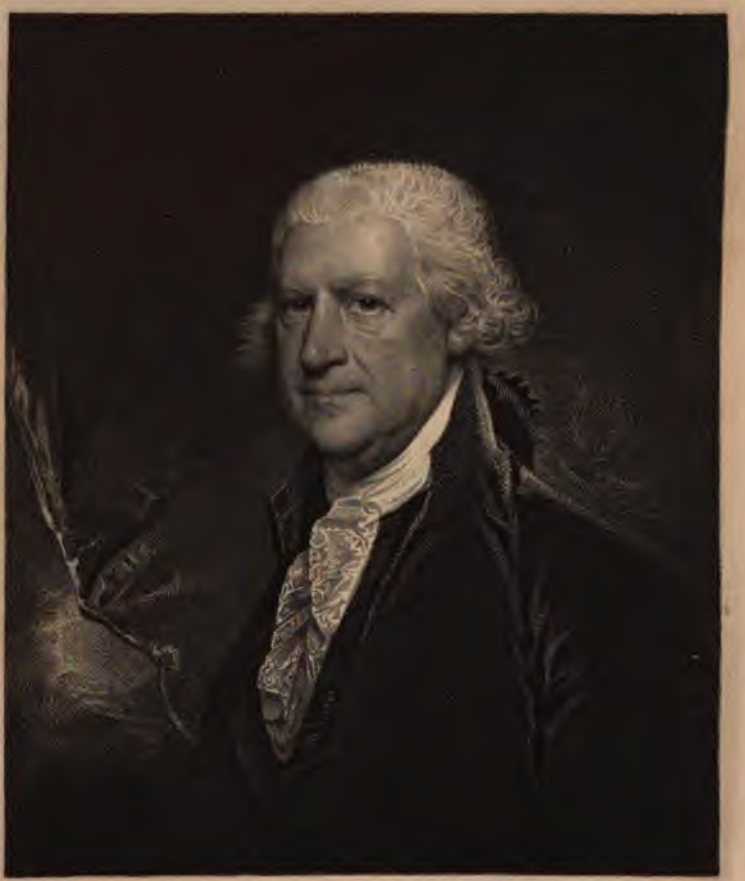
calculation, which may endanger, nay, which may perhaps overthrow, the system of movements, so beautifully put together, and bring on a common ruin as fearful and as desolating, as any which the old world has exhibited. In the contemplation of such a state of things, who would not lament the extinction of such a mind as that of the Chief Justice? Who would not earnestly implore the continuance of that influence, which has hitherto, through all the mutations of party, borne him along with the public favor, as at once the wisest of guides and the truest of friends. When can we expect to be permitted to behold again so much moderation united with so much firmness, so much sagacity with so much modesty, so much learning with so much experience, so much solid wisdom with so much purity, so much of every thing to love and admire, with nothing, absolutely nothing, to regret? What, indeed, strikes us as the most remarkable in his whole character, even more than his splendid talents, is the entire consistency of his public life and principles. There is nothing in either which calls for apology or concealment. Ambition has never seduced him from his principles, nor popular clamor deterred him from the strict performance of duty. Amid the extravagances of party spirit, he has stood with a calm and steady inflexibility; neither bending to the pressure of adversity, nor bounding with the elasticity of success. He has lived as such a man should live, (and yet how few deserve the commendation,) by and with his principles. Whatever changes of opinion have occurred in the course of his long life, have been gradual and slow; the results of genius acting upon larger materials, and of judgment matured by the lessons of experience. If we were tempted to say in one word what it was in which he chiefly excelled other men, we should say in wisdom; in the union of that virtue, which has ripened under the hardy discipline of principles, with that knowledge, which has constantly sifted and refined its old treasures, and as constantly gathered new. The constitution, since its adoption, owes more to him than to any other single mind, for its true interpretation and vindication. Whether it lives or perishes, his exposition of its principles will be an enduring monument to his fame, as long as solid reasoning, profound analysis, and sober views of government, shall invite the leisure, or command the attention of statesmen and jurists.

But interesting as it is, to contemplate such a man in his public character and official functions, there are those who dwell with far more delight upon his private and domestic qualities. There are few

great men to whom one is brought near, however dazzling may be their talents or actions, who are not thereby painfully diminished in the estimate of those who approach them. The mist of distance sometimes gives a looming size to their character; but more often conceals its defects. To be amiable, as well as great, to be kind, gentle, simple, modest, and social; and at the same time to possess the rarest endowments of mind, and the warmest affections, is a union of qualities which the fancy may fondly portray, but the sober realities of life rarely establish. Yet it may be affirmed by those who have had the privileges of intimacy with Mr. CHIEF JUSTICE MARSHALL, that he rises, rather than falls, with the nearest surveys; and that in the domestic circle he is exactly what a wife, a child, a brother, and a friend would most desire. In that magical circle, admiration of his talents is forgotten in the indulgence of those affections and sensibilities, which are awakened only to be gratified. More might be said with truth, if we were not admonished that he is yet living, and his delicacy might be wounded by any attempt to fill up the outline of his more private life. Besides his judicial labors, the Chief Justice has contributed a valuable addition to the historical and biographical literature of the country. He is the author of the Life of Washington, and of the History of the American Colonies, originally prefixed to the former work; but in the second edition, with great propriety, detached from it. Each of these works has been so long and so favorably known to the public, that it is wholly unnecessary to enter upon a critical examination of them in this place. They have all the leading features which ought to distinguish historical compositions; fidelity, accuracy, impartiality, dignity of narrative, and simplicity and purity of style. The Life of Washington is indeed entitled to a very high rank, as it was prepared from a diligent perusal of the original papers of that great man, which were submitted to the liberal use of his biographer. Probably no person could have brought to so difficult a task more various and apt qualifications. The Chief Justice had served through a great part of the revolutionary war, and was familiar with most of the scenes of Washington's exploits. He had also long enjoyed his personal confidence and felt the strongest admiration of his talents and virtues. He was also an early actor in the great political controversies, which after the revolutionary war agitated the whole country, and ended in the establishment of the national constitution. He was a decided supporter of the administration of Washington, and a leader among his able advocates. The principles and the measures of that administration had his unqualified

approbation; and he has at all times since maintained them in his public life with a sobriety and uniformity, which mark him out as the fittest example of the excellence of that school of patriots and statesmen. If to these circumstances are added his own peculiar cast of mind, his deep sagacity, his laborious diligence, his native candor, and lofty sense of duty, it could scarcely be doubted, that his Life of Washington would be invaluable for the truth of its facts and the accuracy and completeness of its narrative. And such has hitherto been, and such ought for ever to continue to be its reputation. It does not affect to deal with mere private and personal anecdotes, to amuse the idle or the vicious. Its object is to expound the character and public services of Washington, and to give a faithful outline of his principles and measures. To a statesman, in an especial manner, the concluding volume is of the highest importance. He may there find traced out with a masterly hand, and with a sedulous impartiality, the origin and progress of the parties, which since the adoption of the constitution, have divided the United States. It will enable him to treasure up the fundamentals of constitutional law; and to purify himself from those generalities, which are so apt to render politics, as a science, impracticable, and government, as a system, unsteady and visionary. Every departure from the great principles and policy laid down by Washington, will be found to weaken the bonds of union, to jeopard the interests, and to shake the solid foundations of the liberties of the republic.

In concluding this sketch we may well apply to the Chief Justice what Cicero has so gracefully said of an ancient orator: "Nihil acute inveniri potuit in eis causis, quas scripsit, nihil (ut ita dicam,) subdole, nihil versute, quod ille non viderit; nihil subtiliter dici, nihil presse, nihil enucleate, quo fieri possit limatius."



Engraved by A. Willcox from a Picture by C. Peale.

EDWARD SHIPPEN, M. D.

Edw. Shippen

EDWARD SHIPPEN.

In presenting the portrait of the late Chief Justice Shippen, we are sure that we shall gratify, not only his numerous friends, by whom his memory is affectionately cherished, but the public, who are indebted to him for many and important services. He was, in every sense, a son of Pennsylvania, born and educated in the city of Philadelphia, and to his native state he devoted his labors and talents during a long and useful life. He was born on the sixteenth day of February, 1729. His grandfather, William Shippen, was a gentleman of fortune and family, in the county of York, England; and his father, Edward Shippen, emigrated to America about the year 1675. He first settled in Boston, but removed to Philadelphia about the year 1700, where his character and acquirements soon obtained for him the respect and confidence of his fellow citizens, and led him to various offices of honor and emolument. He became a member of the governor's council, a commissioner of the board of property, a judge of the general court, and was the first mayor of the city.

Edward Shippen, the subject of this memoir, followed the honorable course of his father, and fully sustained the reputation derived from him. Having completed his elementary education with distinguished diligence and success, he commenced the study of the law under the direction of Finch Francis, Esquire, then the attorney-general of Pennsylvania. In 1748, Mr. Shippen, having prosecuted his legal studies for about two years, went to London to complete them in the Temple. In our day, this is no longer necessary; nor indeed are our American youth required to go abroad for instruction, in any of the learned professions more than in the mechanic arts. After spending two years in London, not in frivolous dissipated pursuits, but in the acquirement of the knowledge of his profession and the general cultivation of his mind, Mr. Shippen was admitted a barrister of the Middle Temple; and he returned to Philadelphia, to commence his career of life, and enter upon the duties of a lawyer and a citizen. He was so occupied, when the war of our

revolution interrupted the civil pursuits of our citizens, and suspended, more or less, their private business.

On the happy conclusion of this momentous struggle, the departments of government, as well as the occupations of the people, returned to their regular action and course. To furnish the judiciary with men of suitable qualifications, as to character and knowledge, was obviously an object of primary importance. Professional learning and moral integrity in the administration of the laws, were indispensable to secure the public confidence for the courts of justice; and in seaching for them, Mr. SHIPPEN could not be overlooked. He was accordingly appointed president of the court of common pleas of the county of Philadelphia, a place of high trust; and was also the presiding judge of the court of quarter sessions for the city and county. These appointments were made under the constitution of the state, adopted in 1776. A more perfect organization of the judiciary was made by the constitution of 1790.

In 1791, Mr. SHIPPEN was appointed one of the judges of the supreme court, whose jurisdiction extended over the whole state, and whose duties and powers called for the highest grade of professional learning and talents, as well as of personal character and public confidence. On the election of Chief Justice M'Kean to the executive chair of the commonwealth in 1799, Judge SHIPPEN succeeded him on the bench, and was appointed Chief Justice by Governor M'Kean, who was perfectly well acquainted with the qualifications the office demanded, and with the fitness of the person he selected for it. Chief Justice SHIPPEN continued to perform the duties of his exalted station with undiminished ability, and unimpaired confidence and respect, until the close of the year 1805, when the infirmities of age, he being then nearly seventy-seven years old, admonished him to retire to repose. A few months after his resignation of office, on the sixteenth day of April, 1806, he found his final resting place, placidly leaving the world, in which, from his earliest youth, he had been conspicuous for his virtues and usefulness. The volumes of our judicial reports are enriched with many of his opinions, of great importance; and these are now received with the same respect they commanded, when they were sustained by his personal and official influence and authority. Much of our law which is now well settled, was, at the period of his judicial administration, in a state of uncertainty, long usages sometimes interfering with positive legislative enactments. Principles were to be established suitable to our system of jurisprudence, and con-

structions to be given to doubtful laws. His sound mind, his excellent legal education and great experience, his cool temper and discriminating sagacity, were all admirably calculated for the performance of such functions; and he did perform them in a manner to satisfy his contemporaries, and to be approved and unshaken to this day. Judicial qualifications and services are not of a character to catch the multitude, or to be the subjects of popular applause; but there is no officer concerned in the administration of the affairs of a people, whose duties are more anxious and arduous to himself, or more important to the community, than those of the judge. The preparatory education and long study; the painful and attentive experience, which are indispensable for the attainment of the qualifications befitting the bench; the habits of close and careful investigation; the faculty of discovering the true ground of controversy, of distinguishing between real and apparent resemblances, between sound reasoning and ingenious sophism; the firmness never to yield principles to expediency, nor to sacrifice or disturb the great system of jurisprudence for particular cases; and withal, to hold a perfect command over every feeling that might irritate the temper or mislead the judgment, present to our contemplation a combination of rare and valuable qualities, deserving our highest consideration and respect. The laws must be sustained with independence and intelligence, or it is in vain that they are wise and salutary; justice must be rendered faithfully to the parties who appeal for it to the judicial tribunals, or it is a mockery to promise them protection and redress. The active, efficient, vital operations of the government are performed by the courts. No man is so high or so humble as to be beyond their reach; they bring the laws into every man's house, to punish or to protect them. Such are the responsibilities of a judge. It was on the judgment seat of the law, that the high qualities of Chief Justice SHIPPEN were brought into their best exercise and use. He seemed by nature as well as education to have been especially prepared for this station. Patient, learned, discriminating and just, no passion or private interest, no selfish or unworthy feeling of favor or resentment ever held the slightest influence over his conduct or decisions.

Few situations expose the temper to more irritating trials than that of a judge. He must occasionally encounter ignorance, impertinence, stupidity, obstinacy, and chicanery, and he must take care that they do not move him from his line of duty. The bland and equal temper of Chief Justice SHIPPEN never forsook him amidst such trials, but, on the contrary, threw a charm over his

manner of repelling or submitting to them. The young and the timid advocate was encouraged by his kindness, and flattered by his attention. He knew and practiced the lesson of Lord Bacon, that "patience is one of the first duties of a judge;" and he felt that he was bound to hear every party and every advocate, before he decided his cause. A suitor might go from his court disappointed by the judgment, but he could not be dissatisfied with the judge.

Of the private character and deportment of Chief Justice SHIPPEN, it may be truly said that he has left few imitators of his manners. His politeness was of the kind that has its foundations in a well regulated temper and the best feelings of a benevolent heart, polished by a familiar intercourse, from his birth, with refined society. He combined, in a remarkable degree, benignity with dignity, conciliating the affections while he commanded a perfect respect; and, as a valuable citizen, and an accomplished lawyer and judge, remarkable for the great extent and minute accuracy of his knowledge, he must ever be conspicuous, among those worthies who have won, by their virtues and their talents, an imperishable name.

Engraved by H. B. Hall from a drawing by T. Wolf

GENERAL JONATHAN WILLIAMS.

Jon.a Williams

JONATHAN WILLIAMS.

JONATHAN WILLIAMS.

It is an agreeable task to commemorate a virtuous and useful life. If it be a worldly favor to the hand that presents the sword of honor to the victor, or the decoration to successful merit, it is a quiet, but not less grateful privilege, to be, to the deserving, the channel of their remembrance and praise.

Jonathan Williams, the father of the subject of this memoir, was a merchant in Boston, much respected and largely engaged there in commercial affairs. He was among the patriots of Massachusetts who took part in the struggle of the colonists against Great Britain; and in 1774 was chairman of the memorable meeting at Faneuil Hall in Boston, where it was voted "that the tea should not be landed; that no duty should be paid on it; and that it should be sent back to England in the ships which had conveyed it to this country." This may show that he was an approved whig, and an influential citizen. A further allusion to this incident may be given more appropriately hereafter.

Jonathan Williams, his son, was born in Boston, in the year 1750, and received from his childhood, the best English education which the opportunities of that place then afforded. Intended for the profession of his father, he was taken from school before his studies were completed, and placed in a counting-house. Anxious to improve himself, he devoted his evenings and other leisure moments to the acquirement of knowledge; in this manner he gained considerable proficiency in the classics, and a ready and familiar acquaintance with the French language, both in speaking and writing it. In the course of his commercial pursuits, he made many voyages, in which he visited most of the West-India Islands, as well as various parts of Europe. His letters from these places, upon business and of general reflection, display much maturity of observation and judgment. In the year 1770, he first went to England with his brother, and an uncle, Mr. John Williams, who had been a local commissioner under the British government. On his arrival in

London, he was received with the greatest kindness by Dr. Franklin, (who was his grand-uncle,) and taken by him to his house, which he insisted should be his residence during his stay in England. Having remained about a year in that country, and travelled during that time through a considerable part of it, Mr. WILLIAMS returned to America. In 1773, he again went to England. In consequence of his connection with Dr. Franklin, he was intrusted, on his various commercial voyages to and from his country, with letters and communications, on the then engrossing subject of the political relations between England and America; by this means he became acquainted with the prominent men of that day, and though then very young, in mental cultivation and resources, he was their fit companion.

In a letter written about the year 1774, and addressed to his father, he says, "After seeing my merchants, I went to see the doctor, (Franklin,) whom I found in exceeding good health and spirits; and was welcomed by him with a degree of joy and affection, which surpassed even the expectations I had formed from the former proofs I received of extensive goodness and friendship. I waited on my uncle, but he was not at home,—went then to Lord Dartmouth's, (colonial secretary,) at whose levee I met my uncle. After sending my name and business, I was immediately admitted to his lordship, who received me with great politeness. When he had read the letters, he asked me many questions, which I answered as well as I was able. I told him of the opinion of the people, their firmness, their determination, and their intention of a junction of the colonies; which I delivered, perhaps not in polite, but in American language. I left out nothing which I thought would give his lordship a true idea of the importance and virtue of the Americans; and having the strictest truth for my guide, I was not in the least confused nor abashed, but spoke as I would to any other man. He heard me with great politeness; and although I frequently discovered a sense of the impropriety of the administration, he seemed pleased. He then asked me my private opinion. 'Mr. WILLIAMS,' said he, 'I wish to come at truth; and as a man alone, shall be glad of your sentiments with regard to the disposition of the Americans. I ask it as a private gentleman; this conversation is confidential; and, you may depend, I shall make no public use of what you may tell me.' I made some little apology for my inferiority in point of abilities, but said, that as he had assured me we were private gentlemen, I would relate to him all I knew; but being unused to elegant addresses, I should presume on his indulgence, and deliver my sentiments in my own unadorned way, and

endeavor to utter simple truths, without confounding the matter, by seeking to embellish the manner. I then told him that the Americans never would submit; that they would not be surprised when the other acts should arrive; that they expected the worst, and were accordingly prepared; that I believed the junction would take place; and that they thought now or never was the time; that they supposed by submission they would make themselves the most abject slaves on earth; and that by opposition they could not be worse; that parliament had no right to tax them; that they would die by this opinion; and that a universal non-exportation agreement would be attended with salutary effects. His lordship, after some time, asked me if I knew 'Mr. Williams, who appears as moderator of that assembly,' (the meeting at Faneuil Hall.) 'He is my father, my lord.' 'And is your father a principal in those disturbances! Mr. WILLIAMS, how comes that, sir?' 'My father, my lord, is an honest man, and one who seeks not fame. He was in that meeting as any other man might be, and when chosen, was much surprised; he excused himself as being unacquainted with the office; and on the motion being put, and passed in the negative, he therefore officiated. My father, my lord, has been so little, heretofore, engaged in political disputes, that I was as much surprised as I should be, had your lordship been in the desk. But, my lord, I am only relating facts: it is not for me to dispute on the merit or demerit of my father's conduct, but I am sure he acted according to the dictates of his conscience, and upon honest principle; and thus acting, I hope your lordship will not think him wrong, though you may not agree in sentiment.' He smiled, and after paying me a compliment for my plainness and freedom, said, laughingly, 'So, then, your father may say with Falstaff, 'some men are in pursuit of honors, but others have honors in pursuit of them.'"

Again, in a letter written in September, 1774, he says, "With regard to politics, nothing has occurred; nor do I think any thing will happen till the parliament sits, when I dare say there will be warm work, and I have great hope that American affairs will wear a better aspect; for the ministry, I have reason to think, will find a greater opposition than they expect. Unanimity and firmness must gain the point. I can't help repeating it, though I believe I have written it twenty times before. The newspapers, which used to be the vehicles of all kinds of abuse on the poor Bostonians, are now full of pieces in our favor. Here and there an impertinent scribbler, like an expiring candle flashing from the socket, shows,

by his scurrility, the weakness of his cause, and the corruptness of his heart."

In the following year he made a short visit to France, of which, in one of his letters, dated London, May 5, 1775, he thus speaks. It is deemed proper to extract from it; for it contains a forecast of events which history soon after proved literally true. He says, "I have passed two months in the most agreeable manner possible, except with regard to my reflections relative to my unhappy country, which always attend me wherever I go. I found throughout France, a general attention to our disputes with Britain, and to a man, all that country are in our favor. They suppose England to have arrived at its pinnacle of glory, and that the empire of America will rise on the ruins of this kingdom; and I really believe, that when we shall be involved in civil war, they will gladly embrace the first opportunity of renewing their attacks on an old enemy, who they imagine will be so weakened by its internal broils, as to become an easy conquest. Although I profess myself an American, I am still an Englishman; I only wish the titles to be synonymous; and therefore do not hope for the destruction of this country; I only wish the prosperity of my own; and that its rights and privileges may ever remain inviolate; to secure which, no sacrifice should be thought too dear: so I do not give the French so much credit for their partiality, for I believe it to proceed in general more from a hatred to England, than a love to us; though in some particulars, I believe the natural rights of humanity are the basis of their opinions."

With the hope peculiar to the buoyant spirit of youth, that the differences between the two countries would still be justly settled, and that the firmness of his country would produce its desired effect upon the British government and people, Mr. WILLIAMS had nearly completed a mercantile connection with a West-India house of large capital and extensive trade, when the political separation of the two countries induced him to quit England and reside in France. His determination and views are expressed in a letter from Nantes, in 1777. "When I wrote to you from England, I was in the expectation of taking up my residence in that country. The scene is now changed; and since it became a question, which of the two countries I would prefer in a separate state, I did not hesitate to quit all my lucrative views, and to come hither, to do all the service I can, without expectation of further emolument than a subsistence. It is not improbable, that I shall engage in the American trade in some part of France, or return to some part of America, charged

with the management of commercial matters. Whatever I do in this way will be upon a large scale, and whilst I am doing essential service to my country, I may advance my own fortune. In this, however, I make a distinction; whatever I am capable of doing for the benefit of the cause, I will undertake with pleasure, gratis; but otherwise, in all commercial engagements with individuals of another nation." Let it be added, that at this time he numbered Robert Morris, of Pennsylvania, among his American correspondents, and that his letters to that eminent man are filled with similar good sense and love of country, to those already given.

The early destiny of Mr. WILLIAMS separated him from the land, whose struggle for freedom deeply and constantly interested him—from the country to which he afterwards lived to devote years of usefulness and good example; but the resolve, contained in the letter last quoted, of help, however humble, to that country, is most honorable to him. It is known that the young American merchant strictly fulfilled it. About this period, he was appointed commercial agent of the United States, and resided principally at Nantes. In September, 1779, he was married to Mariamne, the daughter of William Alexander, formerly of Edinburgh, at the hotel of the Dutch ambassador at Paris; Dr. Franklin, then minister from the United States, being present at the ceremony. In 1783, he received a commission from the Farmers General of France, to supply them with tobacco, which was then, as it now is, a government monopoly. After this appointment, he removed to St. Germain's, where he resided until 1785, when he returned with Dr. Franklin to the United States. He remained in this country about four years, arranging his mercantile affairs; a task which, in consequence of the uncertain state of the commercial world, was attended with difficulties and pecuniary sacrifices. He sailed for England for the last time in 1798, for the purpose of bringing his family to Philadelphia, which he had selected as the place of his future residence. This determination was induced by his desire to be near his earliest, best, and kindest friend, Dr. Franklin: but he was met on his return in 1790, with the melancholy news of the death of that eminent man, which had taken place a short time before. He purchased a country seat on the banks of the Schuylkill, near Philadelphia, where he lived in the enjoyment of every social and domestic tie; diversifying his employments, in the duties of a useful citizen, and in the pursuit of those studies congenial to his mind. Mathematical investigation, botany, medicine,—the law itself,—were all included in his quiet but

vigorous habits of research; and he acquired enough of the last mentioned science, to be, for several years, an intelligent and valuable judge of the court of common pleas in Philadelphia.

In 1794, he accompanied the forces sent to quell the western insurrection in Pennsylvania.

The talent for investigation possessed by Mr. WILLIAMS has been alluded to; let an instance be given, where this habit resulted in good to the public. In consequence of his connection with the American post-office, Dr. Franklin had occasion to notice the fact, that the English packets were generally two weeks longer in crossing the Atlantic than the American vessels. An old sea-captain explained this to him, by observing that the commanders of the former were entirely ignorant of the limits, and almost of the existence, of the gulf-stream, and had therefore to overcome a strong current, which was carefully avoided by our countrymen: he mentioned at the same time, that the current might always be discovered by the warmth of the water, which was much greater than that of the surrounding ocean. This suggestion Dr. Franklin carefully remembered; and in his several voyages across the Atlantic, made regular experiments with the thermometer, to ascertain the width and direction of the gulf-stream, which were afterwards communicated to the American Philosophical Society. [Am. Phil. Trans., Vol. II., p. 314.] Mr. WILLIAMS, who had accompanied him on one of his voyages, and assisted him in his experiments, determined to repeat these experiments in his future voyages. He did so, and found that the water, out of soundings, was about ten degrees warmer than that on the coast; and it at once occurred to him that the thermometer might become a useful nautical instrument, for purposes far more important than the discovery of currents. He repeated these experiments, until he ascertained beyond all doubt the accuracy of his first supposition; and the result was laid before the American Philosophical Society, in the year 1790. [Am. Phil. Trans., Vol. III., p. 82.]

He there shows most clearly, that the water over banks is colder than that of the main ocean, in the inverse ratio of its depth; and that by the simple use of the thermometer, vessels may guard against unseen dangers, and approach a coast with a security previously unknown. The importance of this discovery is at present beyond controversy; and every navigator is now furnished with marine thermometers, as an indispensable part of his equipment.

In the year 1800, Mr. WILLIAMS was appointed a major in the U. S. Artillery; and soon after, a colonel in the corps of Engineers,

and chief of the Military Academy at West Point. He devoted himself to the discharge of the duties of his appointment; the fortress at New York, which bears his name, as well as most of the forts of our country, constructed whilst he was in the Engineer department, were sketched and completed by him, and by the officers under his direction.

It is, however, as the head of the Military Academy, that he probably rendered his most direct and continued service to his country. This institution, first suggested by Washington, and established by Jefferson, proved to Colonel WILLIAMS a fit theatre for the employment of his talents. With a mind stored with much scientific and general information, with great decision of character, and extensive knowledge of the world, he was, from the first of his command at West Point, a pledge of its purpose and success. As an officer, he furnished by his industry, exactness, and patience, an accomplished example to those whose military education he superintended. Under his direction, the institution steadily advanced in character; and all who were acquainted with its regulations and discipline, acknowledged its advantages. But it was not until the close of the war of 1812, that its influence was seen and felt by the country at large. It was not until the heroic deeds of M'Rae, Gibson, Wood, and Macomb, and other gallant young men, had so largely contributed to an honorable peace, that the military school became a source of interest and pride with the nation. Those accomplished and intrepid officers were first taught to be *thorough soldiers* by Colonel WILLIAMS. Some of these died on the field of battle, with a glory which he was instrumental in giving them the ambition and power to achieve. Others, high in rank and honor, live to remember the value of his former instructions. We have just alluded to the departed brave; let us go back for a moment, and appropriately remember another gallant youth whom he educated at West Point, and who was bound to him by the two-fold tie of pupilage and filial love. Captain Alexander J. Williams died on his country's ramparts, in the midnight carnage at Fort Erie. His veteran father read his loss on the page of history; but on the same page he might also read, that the commanding general, when recording that bloody battle, paused in the very flush of triumph, to tell the valor and deplore the death of his "favorite."*

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* See official letter of Major General Gaines, August 15, 1814.

Prevented by his peculiar station from sharing the immediate duties of the field, Colonel WILLIAMS had obtained a promise, that in case of attack, the fortifications he constructed in the harbor of New York should be placed under his command. At the near prospect that the enemy would invade that city, he claimed the fulfilment of that promise. He received a refusal; grounded, it is believed, on the consideration that officers of the engineer corps had no right to a command over troops of the line. The soldier's feeling, in that which concerns his reputation and just pride, is seldom subject to general rule; and, in the ardent belief that both of these were involved in the defence of the post alluded to, Colonel WILLIAMS, in the year 1812, after a protracted correspondence upon the subject with the war department, resigned his commission in the army of the United States.

Immediately after his resignation, he received an appointment from the governor of New York, of brigadier-general in her forces. It was an uncommon tribute to a citizen of another state, and was conferred in testimony of his worth and character. He returned to his residence near Philadelphia; but he was soon called from his chosen retirement by the committee of safety, to superintend the erecting of fortifications in his neighborhood, on the west bank of the Schuylkill, which was faithfully executed.

In the autumn of 1814, he was elected a member of congress from the city of Philadelphia. He lived not to requite, by his experience and abilities, the confidence of his fellow citizens.

On the 20th of May, 1815, his diligent and honorable life was calmly terminated. He had yet attained only his sixty-fifth year. His mind had lost none of its peculiar endowments; nor had his body yielded to the decrepitude of age. In the highest council of our country, he might have added to his honors, and won a statesman's fame. But the hand of the Unseen, who disposes all things, now closed the career, and by his touch consecrated the memory of the useful citizen, the firm patriot, and the accomplished soldier.

DANIEL D. TOMPKINS.

Daniel D. Tompkins

DANIEL D. TOMPKINS.

Governor TOMPKINS seemed to [illegible] characteristics of the citizens of his adopted state, enterprise and perseverance; and his talents, as [illegible] they were tried, were always [illegible] bar in the city of New York, during the [illegible] assumed an honorable rank; on the [illegible] the most [illegible] and decisions which then adorned it, he was conspicuously [illegible] gradual [illegible] a comparative youth; and we venture to say, that no judge, since the formation of our government, ever presided at nisi prius, or exercised the powers with more popularity. Dignified in his person, graceful and [illegible] in his address, and thoroughly amiable in his character, he [illegible] respect and confidence of the bar, and the [illegible] He was not one of those—for such have [illegible] "lords of the bar, and dogmatized on the bench;" he was [illegible] and a [illegible] and disdained to avail himself [illegible] to overbear or insult his inferiors.

The distinction which [illegible] soon elevated him to a different [illegible] chair of his native state. He was [illegible] most influential of the republicans in the [illegible] which he administered the government, he did not relinquish their confidence.

DANIEL D. TOMPKINS.

It is a pleasing task to sketch the life of such a man as Daniel D. Tompkins, and a proud one to a citizen of the great state which had the honor of giving him birth. It may be compared to a landscape, such as the eye delights to rest upon; not one of abrupt transitions from mountain to ravine, from "antres vast" to "deserts idle," but an open, expanded, and unbroken scene of refreshing and unfading verdure. And if the pleasure of contemplating it be not unmingled, it is because the sombre clouds of adversity began at length to hover round and darken its brilliant horizon.

Governor Tompkins seemed to imbody within himself the peculiar characteristics of the citizens of his native state—activity, energy, and perseverance; and his talents, as constantly and variously as they were tried, were always found equal to any emergency. At the bar in the city of New York, during the early period of his life, he sustained an honorable rank; on the bench of the supreme court of the state, amid the bright constellation of judicial talent, learning, and eloquence, which then adorned it, he was conspicuously distinguished, while yet in comparative youth; and we venture to say, that no judge, since the formation of our government, ever presided at nisi prius, or travelled the circuit with more popularity. Dignified in his person, graceful and conciliating in his address, and thoroughly amiable in his character, he won the respect and confidence of the bar, and the admiration of the public. He was not one of those—for such have been—who "bullied at the bar, and dogmatized on the bench;" he was a man of warm and kindly feelings, and disdained to avail himself of the accident of official station, to browbeat or insult his inferiors.

The distinction which he gained in his judicial capacity, soon elevated him to a different theatre of action, the gubernatorial chair of his native state. He was put forward as a candidate by the most influential of the republicans of that day; and in the mode in which he administered the government, he did not disappoint their choice.

Those were turbulent times in politics; but, like a skilful pilot, he safely and triumphantly weathered the storm—not only that which was raging within our own bounds and among ourselves, but a more fearful one which was pouring in upon us from a foreign foe. By his unwearied efforts, in repeatedly pressing the subject upon the attention of the legislature, slavery was finally abolished in the state of New York. In a message addressed to the legislature in 1812, he says, "The revision of our code of laws will furnish you with opportunities of making many beneficial improvements,—to devise the means for the gradual and ultimate extermination from among us of slavery, that reproach of a free people, is a work worthy of the representatives of a polished and enlightened nation;" and in 1817, he again submitted to the legislature, "whether the dictates of humanity, the reputation of the state, and a just sense of gratitude to THE ALMIGHTY for the many favors he has conferred on us as a nation, do not demand that the reproach of slavery be expunged from our statute-book."

The subject of public education and morals was always near his heart; and thus he invites to it the attention of the legislature, in one of his messages: "As the guardians of the prosperity, liberty, and morals of the state, we are bound by every injunction of patriotism and wisdom, to endow to the utmost of our resources, schools and seminaries of learning, to patronise public improvements, and to cherish all institutions for the diffusion of religious knowledge, and for the promotion of virtue and piety." How noble are such sentiments, and how different from the maxims of despots, who for the most part govern the world! Here is not recommended endowments for splendid seats of learning, for the instruction of a privileged class; to propagate and maintain an exclusive creed, or to uphold some corrupt establishment to make the rich richer and more powerful, and the poor poorer and more debased; to use the mind, the immortal part of our nature, as an instrument to be moulded and fashioned so as to subserve the selfish purposes of a lordly few; but, with a philanthropy without limit, it is pressed upon the legislature to cherish and promote *all* institutions for the diffusion of knowledge, virtue, and piety. When a chief magistrate speaks thus to his people, be they his masters or his servants, we may consider that governments are not always given to us as a "curse for our vices."

The benevolent feelings of Governor TOMPKINS prompted him to call the attention of the legislature, on repeated occasions, to the

abolition of corporeal and capital punishments; and he at length happily effected that of the former: the latter still remain.

So early as 1811, we find him raising his voice in favor of the encouragement of manufactures. "Let us extend to them," he says, "the utmost encouragement and protection which our finances will admit, and we shall soon convince the belligerents of Europe, to whom we have been extensive and profitable customers, that their mad and unjust policy towards us will ultimately recoil upon themselves, by giving to our industry, our resources, and our policy a new direction, calculated to render us really independent." He makes the question one of love of country and honorable pride, and does not even hint at any sordid calculation of profit. If he erred as a political economist, and in this respect there are those who will doubt, he at least manifested the generous purpose of a patriot.

In this brief sketch, it is not to be expected that even all the most prominent measures of Governor TOMPKINS' administration can be noticed; but there is one which must not be passed over in silence—we mean his prorogation of the senate and assembly of the state in 1812, and in reference we will briefly remark, in the language of another, "The legislature had lent a favorable ear to the petitions of various banking companies for incorporation; and a system had been projected and fostered by bribery and corruption, which threatened irreparable evils to the community. In his communication to the legislature, the governor dwelt upon this subject with peculiar force, and clearly and ably pointed out the inexpediency and danger of multiplying banking institutions; but such had been the gigantic strides of corruption, that the pernicious law would have been enacted, had not the governor exerted his constitutional privilege of proroguing the legislature."

The anathemas of party animosity came thick and heavy upon him, in consequence of this measure, which, although strictly constitutional, was stigmatized as arbitrary and despotic; but he breasted himself to the shock, and triumphed in the support of public opinion, Here he displayed, in a conspicuous manner, that moral energy of character which we have attributed to him, and crushed the hydra of corruption, which was beginning to rear itself in the sacred halls of legislation. "The measure," says the writer above quoted, "excited the astonishment and admiration of the whole United States."

We come now to the part which he bore in our late war with Great Britain, which embraces a most interesting period of his life. Whenever the history of that war shall be written for posterity, his

name will fill an ample space in it. As governor of the state of New York, he had the direction of all her energies; and many and arduous were the duties which he was called upon to perform. But those who were conversant with the scenes of that period, will recollect the universal confidence which he inspired in every lover of his country.

The following letter, dated a few days after the declaration of war, will show the perilous situation of the state of New York at that time, the condition of the army, and the responsibility he assumed to meet the exigency.

"Albany, June 28, 1812.

"To Major General Dearborn,

"Sir,—Your letter of the 23d inst. has been received. I had anticipated your request, by ordering the detachments from Washington, Essex, Clinton, and Franklin counties into service, and have fixed the days and places of their rendezvous. Upon application to the quarter-master general, I find there are but 139 tents and 60 camp-kettles at this place, and even those I take by a kind of stealth. The deputy quarter-master general declines giving an order for their delivery, until he shall have a written order from the quarter-master general, and the latter is willing I shall take them, but will not give the deputy a written order for that purpose. Under such circumstances, I shall then avail myself of the rule of possession, and by virtue of the *eleven* points of the law, send them off to-morrow morning, without a written order from any one. You may remember, that when you were secretary of the war department, I invited you to forward and deposit in our frontier arsenals, arms, ammunition, and camp equipage, free of expense, to be ready for defence in case of war; and the same invitation to the war department has been repeated four times since. The United States have now from five to six hundred regular troops at Plattsburgh, Rome, Canandaigua, &c., where those arsenals are; and yet those recruits are now, and must be for weeks to come, unarmed, and in every respect unequipped, although within musket shot of arsenals. The recruits at Plattsburgh are within fifty miles of two tribes of Canadian Indians. In case of an attack upon the frontiers, that portion of the United States army would be as inefficient, and as unable to defend the inhabitants, or themselves even, as so many women. As to cannon, muskets, and ammunition, I can find no one here who will exercise any authority over them, or deliver a single article upon my requisition.

Neither can I find any officer of the army who feels himself authorized to exercise any authority, or do any act which will aid me in the all-important object of protecting the inhabitants of our extended frontier, exposed to the cruelties of savages and the depredation of the enemy. If I must rely upon the militia solely for such protection, I entreat you to give orders to your officers here to furnish upon my order, for the use of the militia detachments, all needful weapons and articles with which the United States are furnished, and of which we are destitute.

"You may rely upon all the assistance which my talents, influence, and authority can furnish, in the active prosecution of the just and necessary war which has been declared by the constituted authority of our beloved country."

From the day of the declaration of war, the governor entered heart and soul into the prosecution of it, and so continued until its close. Most of the frontier troops, the first campaign, were militia, and many of them were marched several hundred miles. The quartermaster general of that day refused to make any advances to them. The governor was therefore placed in the dilemma of providing as well as he could for their expenses of every kind, or of permitting them to return home for the want of accommodation, disgusted both with the war and the government. He issued orders for raising a brigade of volunteers upon his own responsibility, which greatly distinguished itself on our Niagara frontier, and particularly at the memorable sortie from Fort Erie. The officers were all selected by Governor TOMPKINS, and their gallant conduct in the field showed his admirable discrimination in this respect. He had previously recommended to the legislature to raise volunteer regiments for the defence of our frontiers and the city of New York, but by a perversity which seems strange to us at the present day, his patriotic recommendation was rejected. A man of less firmness than Governor TOMPKINS would have quailed beneath the storm which was raised against him in Albany in the winter of 1813–14; and the consequence would probably have been, that the state would have been overrun by the foe. Not only was the whole western frontier in danger of invasion, but Sackett's Harbor, Plattsburgh, and the city of New York. But, regardless of censure or disapprobation, he called into the field large bodies of militia, and organized a corps of sea fencibles for the protection of the city of New York, consisting of 1000 men. In September, 1814, the militia

in service for the defence of the city amounted to 17,500 men. He was even ready to despatch a force, under the lamented Decatur, for the assistance of Baltimore, which was then menaced with an attack, and had not the news of the enemy's retreat been received, the succor would have been upon their march to the relief of a sister state.

In 1814, from information received, and corroborated by the movements of the enemy, there are sufficient grounds of belief that one great object of his campaign was to penetrate with his northern army by the waters of Lake Champlain and the Hudson, and by a simultaneous attack with his maritime forces on New York, to form a junction which should sever the communication of the states. The exigency of the time, while it subjected the executive to great responsibility, admitted of no delay. To defeat this arrogant design, and save the state from inroad, it was necessary immediately to exercise fuller powers and more ample resources than had been placed in his hands by the legislature. He proceeded, therefore, to make such dispositions as were deemed indispensable to secure the exposed points against menaced invasion. To effect these objects, he found it necessary to transcend the authority and means vested in him by law, perfectly satisfied that the legislature would approve and sanction what he had done.

In October of this year, Governor TOMPKINS was appointed by the president to the command of the third military district. He acquitted himself of the command with great ability, and, on the disbanding of the troops, he received from every quarter letters of compliment and gratitude; and this was the only recompense for his services in this command which he ever obtained.

During the fall of this year, the general government was desirous of fitting out an expedition to dislodge the enemy from Castine, in the then province of Maine. They had applied to the governor of Massachusetts to raise the necessary funds for this purpose, but without effect. In this dilemma, the situation of the general government was hinted to Governor TOMPKINS, who, with his individual credit, and upon his own responsibility, immediately raised the sum of three hundred thousand dollars, which he placed at the orders of General Dearborn, then commanding in Massachusetts. This noble act of patriotism speaks for itself, and comment would be superfluous.

In looking over his military correspondence, it is surprising to see how watchful he was to foster a delicate and punctilious regard to the relative rank of the officers of the militia, so as to preclude every cause of jealousy or complaint. The officers were appointed by the

council of appointment, which in the winter of 1813–14 was, together with one branch of the legislature, opposed to the administration of the general government and to the prosecution of the war; and it is evident, from his correspondence at this period, that attempts were constantly made to create discontents, by the recommending of persons for promotion over the heads of those who were entitled to it by their previous military rank; and in turning back to his private correspondence from 1808 to 1811, we are struck with the continual annoyance experienced by him from the intrigues and slanders of political opponents, and at the same time with the indefatigable industry and noble frankness with which he counteracted and exposed them.

In the fall of 1814, Mr. Monroe having just been appointed secretary of war, President Madison requested permission to name Governor TOMPKINS to the senate as his successor. This offer of what is considered the highest office in the gift of the president of the United States, was declined.

In the spring of 1815, after peace had been proclaimed, he resigned the command of the third military district; and the president addressed to him a letter of thanks, for his "patriotic, active, and able support given to the government during the war."

In February 1817, having received official information of his election to the office of vice president of the United States, he surrendered that of chief magistrate of the state of New York.

DANIEL D. TOMPKINS was born on the 21st of June, 1774, at Scarsdale, (Fox Meadows,) in the county of Westchester, N. Y. He was the seventh son of Jonathan G. Tompkins, one of the only three individuals of the town who advocated the cause of their country during the revolution. His ancestors had emigrated originally from the north of England during the time of religious persecution in that country, and landed at Plymouth, in the then colony of Massachusetts. After remaining there a short time, they purchased a tract of land in Westchester county, where they permanently settled. The father of the governor was a member of the state convention which adopted the declaration of independence and the first constitution of the state. He was a member of the legislature during the whole period of the revolution, also for many years first judge of the court of common pleas for the county; and on the institution of the university of the state, was appointed one of the regents, which situation he held until his resignation of it in 1808. He died after seeing his son elevated to the second office in the gift of his country.

Governor TOMPKINS was educated at Columbia college, in the city of New York, and received the first honors of his class. He was admitted to the bar in 1797; in 1801 was elected a representative of the city in the convention to revise the constitution of the state; in 1802 was chosen to the state legislature; and in 1804 was appointed a judge in the supreme court of the state, to supply the vacancy occasioned by the election of Chief Justice Lewis to the gubernatorial chair. In the same year he was elected a member of congress for the city, as a colleague of the late learned Dr. Mitchill. In 1807, when not thirty-three years of age, he was elevated to the chief magistracy of the state. He was also chancellor of the university; and in June 1820 was elected grand master of masons in the state of New York.

In 1821, he was chosen a delegate from the county of Richmond to the convention for framing a new constitution for the state; and he was afterwards appointed president of this body. This was the last public situation which he held.

We still fondly turn our recollections towards him, as one of the most amiable, benevolent, and true-hearted men that ever lived. He bore the stamp of this feeling of kindliness towards his fellow-men in his open and frank countenance, in his easy and unaffected address, in the very tones of his voice in his every-day intercourse with society. Upon every subject that comes home to "men's business and bosoms," his opinions were liberal and expanded; exclusiveness or dogmatism formed no part of his moral creed. He found, as all have found or will find who aspire to raise themselves above the level of their fellow-men, that envy tracked his footsteps, and calumny was always at hand to endeavor to throw a shade over his fame; and we regret to say that, during the close of his career, he suffered from pecuniary embarrassments, resulting from his multifarious services and expenditures, and assumed responsibilities, during the war, and from—what must not be disguised—the tardy justice of the government. He came out of this ordeal, however, completely triumphant; but our limits forbid our entering into details.

We merely add the date of his decease, which melancholy event happened on the 11th of June, 1825, on Staten Island; but his remains are interred in the family vault, at St. Mark's church, in the city of New York.

Engraved by J.B. Longacre from a Painting by W.T. Ouland.

HENRY CLAY.

H. Clay

HENRY CLAY.

"If all this be as is now represented, he has acquired fame enough."
DANIEL WEBSTER.

IN every country, an active politician must occupy a conspicuous place in the public eye. In every country, and in our own, especially, the more conspicuous he is rendered by his talents, energy, decision of character, or peculiar principles, the more will he become the favorite of some, and the object of reproach to others. Where men and principles must be tried at the bar of public opinion, as in our country, or in Great Britain, and we may now add, in France, it is impossible to prevent this result. Nor, is it desirable that it should be otherwise, saving, the bitterness and coarseness of invective, with which political opponents are too often assailed, in the eager strife of parties. To such an extent does this prevail in our land of free presses, that it is to moderate politicians often a subject of deep mortification and regret. To most of those who have been the prominent men of our country these remarks are applicable, and yet, no sooner are they removed from the stage of action, than their country remembers their services with a just regard. Is it right that public men should struggle through a life of anxious toil and unfaltering patriotism, with only the hope of posthumous justice to their integrity and their talents? Certainly not;—we shall therefore make our selections, alike from the distinguished living and the illustrious dead.

Among the names which belong to, and are interwoven with, the history of the United States, that of HENRY CLAY stands in bold relief. Like many others in our country, he has been the builder of his own fortunes; having risen from poverty and obscurity to professional eminence and political dignity, by the energetic and assiduous exercise of his intellectual powers.

HENRY CLAY was born on the 12th of April, 1777, in Hanover county, Virginia. His father, who was a respectable clergyman, died while HENRY was quite young; in consequence of which, he

received no other education, than could be acquired at a common school. He was placed at an early age in the office of Mr. Tinsley, clerk of the high court of chancery, at Richmond, where his talents and amiable deportment won for him, the friendship of some of the most respectable and influential gentlemen in the state. At nineteen, he commenced the study of the law, and was admitted to practice when twenty years of age. He soon after removed to Lexington, Kentucky, and continued his studies there about a year longer; during which time he practised public speaking in a debating society. In his first attempt he was much embarrassed, and saluted the president of the society with the technical phrase, *gentlemen of the jury;* but gaining confidence as he proceeded, he burst the trammels of his youthful diffidence, and clothing his thoughts in appropriate language, gave utterance to an animated and eloquent address. He soon obtained an extensive and lucrative practice; and the reputation which the superiority of his genius acquired, was maintained by his legal knowledge and practical accuracy.

Mr. CLAY's political and professional career began nearly at the same time; but as we cannot give the details of his varied and busy life within the limits of this sketch, we shall only mark the most prominent points, particularly, where he has taken a stand in support of his favorite principles and measures.

In 1798, when the people of Kentucky were preparing to frame a constitution for the state, a plan was proposed for the gradual emancipation of slaves. Mr. CLAY zealously exerted his talents in favor of it; he wrote for the journals, and declaimed at the public meetings, but his efforts failed of success.

The next great question of a public character in which he took a part, found him arrayed with the popular party, in vindicating the freedom of the press, and in opposition to the sedition law, which was viewed by one political party, as an attempt to control it. His speeches on the subject are said to have exhibited much of that energy of character and power of eloquence, which have since distinguished him on all great public occasions.

In 1803, he was elected a member of the legislature, and soon took rank among the ablest men of the state.

In 1806, General Adair resigned his seat in the senate of the United States, and Mr. CLAY was elected to fill the vacancy for one year. He made his debut, in a speech in favor of the erection of a bridge over the Potomac at Georgetown, which is said to have decided the question in favor of the measure, and is the first of his

efforts in support of his favorite principle of *internal improvement.* On his return to Kentucky, he was reëlected to the state legislature, and at the next session was chosen speaker, by a large majority. He held that station for several years, during which he frequently took a part in the debates. He particularly distinguished himself at the first session after his return from congress, by a powerful speech in defence of the common law. A resolution had been introduced to forbid the reading of any British decision, or elementary work on law, in the Kentucky courts. The prejudices of the people, and of a majority of the assembly, were believed to be in favor of the motion; Mr. CLAY moved an amendment, the effect of which was, to exclude those British decisions only, which are of a subsequent date to the declaration of independence. The prejudices against which he contended, were removed by his masterly exposition of the subject. The common law, which viewed in the darkness of ignorance, appeared mysterious and inexplicable; locked up, as was supposed, in a thousand musty volumes; was shown to be simple and easy of comprehension, by the application of a few plain principles. On this occasion, by one of the most extraordinary efforts of his genius, and a brilliant exhibition of his legal knowledge and oratorical powers, Mr. CLAY succeeded in carrying his amendment, by an almost unanimous vote.

In 1809, Mr. CLAY was again elected to the United States' senate for two years, in the place of Mr. Thurston. At this time, the country had arrived at one of those periods, when the strength of its institutions was to be tried, by the menaces and impositions of foreign powers. The policy of the United States has ever been, a non-interference in the affairs of Europe; but notwithstanding the neutrality of the government, to such a height had the animosity of the belligerent European powers arrived, that each strove to injure the other, even at the expense of justice, and by a violation of our neutral rights. Several expedients had been resorted to, by which it was hoped an appeal to arms might be averted, our commercial rights respected, and our national honor remain untarnished; but at the same time a just apprehension was felt, that after all, our pacific measures might prove abortive, and that it was necessary to prepare for war. To this end, a bill was brought into the senate, to appropriate a sum of money for the purchase of cordage, sail cloth, and other articles; to which an amendment was offered giving the preference to American productions and manufactures. It was on this occasion Mr. CLAY first publicly appeared as the advocate of

domestic manufactures, and of the protective policy which has since been called "*the American system.*" Mr. CLAY also participated in other important questions before the senate, and amongst them, that respecting the title of the United States to Florida, which he sustained with his usual ability.

His term of service in the senate having expired, he was elected a member of the house of representatives, and in the winter of 1811 took his seat in that body, of which he was chosen speaker, by a vote that left no doubt of the extent of his influence, or of the degree of respect entertained for his abilities. This station he continued to hold until 1814. Previous to the time when the preparations for war, before alluded to, became a subject of interest, Mr. CLAY had been rather a participator in the discussion of affairs, than a leader, or originator of any great measures, such as have since characterized the national policy; but from that period, he is to be held responsible as a principal, for the impulse which he has given to such of them, as will probably be left to the calm judgment of posterity. As early as 1811, we find him in his place advocating the raising of a respectable military force. War he conceived inevitable,—that in fact, England had begun it already; and the only question was, he said, whether it was to be "a war of vigor, or a war of languor and imbecility." "He was in favor of the display of an energy correspondent to the feelings and spirit of the country." Shortly afterward, with equal fervor, he recommended the gradual increase of the navy; a course of national policy, which has fortunately retained its popularity, and still remains unchanged.

In 1814, Mr. CLAY was appointed one of the commissioners, who negotiated the treaty of Ghent. When he resigned the speaker's chair on the eve of his departure to Europe, he addressed the house in a speech, "which touched every heart in the assembly, and unsealed many a fountain of tears"; to which the house responded by passing a resolution, almost unanimously, thanking him for the impartiality, with which he had administered the arduous duties of his office. In the spring, after the termination of the negotiations at Ghent, he went to London with two of his former colleagues, Messrs. Adams and Gallatin; and there entered upon a highly important negotiation, which resulted in the commercial convention, which has been made the basis of most of our subsequent commercial arrangements with foreign powers. On his return to his own country, he was every where greeted with applause, and was again elected to the house of representatives in congress, of which he continued to be a member until

1825, when he accepted the appointment of secretary of state under President Adams.

One of the great results of our foreign policy, after the war, was the recognition of the independence of the Spanish colonies. On this subject, Mr. CLAY entered with all his heart and soul, and mind and strength,—he saw "the glorious spectacle of eighteen millions of people struggling to burst their chains and to be free"; and he called to mind the language of the venerated father of his country: "Born in a land of liberty, my anxious recollections, my sympathetic feelings, and my best wishes, are irresistibly excited, whensoever, in my country, I see an oppressed nation unfurl the banners of freedom." We regret that we cannot enter into the details of his efforts in that cause; it must suffice to notice, that at first they were not successful, yet he was not discouraged, but renewed them the following year, when he carried the measure through the house of representatives. The president immediately thereafter, appointed five ministers plenipotentiary to the principal Spanish American states. While on this subject, we must not permit the occasion to pass without remarking; that much as we admire those British statesmen, who are bending the powers of their noble minds and splendid talents, to the great cause of human liberty and human happiness, we cannot allow them, nor *one of them*, to appropriate to himself the honor of having "called a new world into existence." That honor belongs not to George Canning, as a reference to dates will show. If there be glory due to any one mortal man more than to others, for rousing the sympathies of freemen for a people struggling to be free, that glory is due to HENRY CLAY; although he has never had the *vanity* to say so himself. HIS exertions won the consent of the American people, to sustain the president in the decisive stand which HE took, when the *great European powers contemplated an intervention on behalf of Spain;* and it was THAT which decided Great Britain, in the course which she pursued. The Spanish American states have acknowledged their gratitude to Mr. CLAY by public acts; his speeches have been read at the head of their armies; and his name will find as durable a place in the history of the South American republics, as in the records of his native land.

In the domestic policy of the government, there have been two points, to which Mr. CLAY'S attention has been particularly directed, since the late war; both of them, in some degree, resting their claims on the country, from circumstances developed by that war. We are not about to discuss them, but merely to indicate them as his favorite

principles, to support which his splendid talents have been directed. These are internal improvements, and the protection of domestic manufactures by means of an adequate tariff. With regard to these measures, the statesmen, and the people of the country, have been much divided,—sometimes, there has been a difference of opinion as to the expediency of them, and sometimes, constitutional objections have been advanced. He has been, however, their steadfast champion, and has been supposed to have connected them, with the settled policy of the country. How far this may prove true, time only can decide.

The right, claimed by South Carolina, to nullify an act of Congress, the warlike preparations made by that state to resist compulsion, and the excitement throughout the country, occasioned by the conflict of interests and opinions, and the hopes and fears of the community, will never be forgotten by the present generation. A civil war and the dissolution of the union, or the destruction of the manufacturing interests, which had grown up to an immense value under the protective system; for a time seemed the only alternatives. During the short session of congress in 1832–3, various propositions were made to remove the threatened evils, by a rëadjustment of the tariff; but the time passed on in high debate, and the country looked on in anxious hope, that some measure would be devised, by which harmony and security might be restored. Two weeks only remained to the end of the session, and nothing had been effected; when Mr. CLAY, "the father of the American system," himself brought in the olive branch. On the 12th of February, he arose in his place in the senate, and asked leave to introduce a bill, to modify the various acts, imposing duties on imports; he at the same time addressed the senate in explanation of his course, and of the bill proposed. "The basis," Mr. CLAY said, "on which I wish to found this modification, is one of time; and the several parts of the bill to which I am about to call the attention of the senate, are founded on this basis. I propose to give protection to our manufactured articles, adequate protection, for a length of time, which, compared with the length of human life, is very long, but which is short, in proportion to the legitimate discretion of every wise and parental system of government—securing the stability of legislation, and allowing time for a gradual reduction, on one side; and on the other, proposing to reduce the rate of duties to that revenue standard for which the opponents of the system have so long contended."

The bill was read, referred to a committee, reported on, and

brought to its final passage in the senate within a few days. In the mean time, it had been made the substitute for a bill under discussion, in the house of representatives, and was adopted in that body by a large majority and sent to the senate, where it had its final reading on the 26th, and when approved by the president became a law.

We should not, in this place, have alluded to the course pursued by one of the states, to effect a modification of the tariff, had it not been so inseparably connected with, what we doubt not, will be hereafter considered one of the most important acts of Mr. CLAY'S public life. "He expressly declared that he thought the protective system in extreme danger; and that it would be far better for the manufacturers, for whose interests he felt the greatest solicitude, to secure themselves by the bill, than take the chances of the next session of congress, when, from the constitution of both houses, it was probable a worse one would be passed." On the other hand, he urged the proposition "as a measure of mutual concession,—of peace, of harmony. He wanted to see no civil war; no sacked cities; no embattled armies; no streams of American blood shed by American arms." We trust, that the crisis is passed, and that we shall continue for ever a united, prosperous, and happy people.

The tariff has had its effect so far, that a new era has commenced, and it is very probable, that the revenue of the country will finally be settled down to a standard, only sufficient, to meet the expenses of the government. In connection with this subject, we wish to preserve the following extract from the speech of Mr. Verplanck, in January, 1833, in support of a bill to reduce the tariff, reported by him to congress:

"The last war left the nation laboring under a weight of public debt. The payment of that war debt was one of the great objects of the arrangement of our revenue system at the peace, and it was never lost sight of in any subsequent arrangement of our tariff system. Since 1815, we have annually derived a revenue from several sources, but by far the largest part from duties on imports, of sometimes twenty, sometimes twenty-five, and recently thirty-two and thirty-three millions of dollars a year.

"Of this sum, ten millions always, but of late a much larger proportion, has been devoted to the payment of the interest and principal of the public debt. At last that debt has been extinguished. The manner in which those burthens were distributed under former laws, has been, heretofore, a subject of complaint and remonstrance. I do not propose to inquire into the wisdom or justice of those

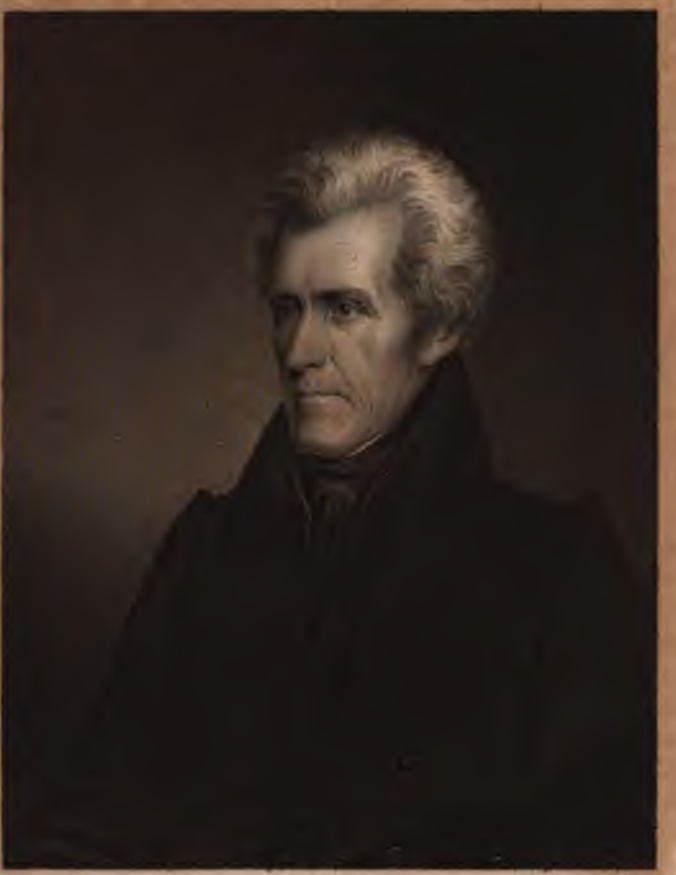
laws. The debt has been extinguished by them—let us be grateful for the past."

Many other interesting incidents are presented in the public life of Mr. CLAY, to which we shall only advert; such, as the part he took in the Missouri question; in the election of Mr. Adams; on the subject of sending a commissioner to Greece; on the colonization of the negroes; and more recently, his labors in favor of rechartering the United States Bank, and for the distribution of the proceeds of the public lands for the purposes of internal improvement, education, &c.

Mr. CLAY received from Mr. Madison the successive offers of a mission to Russia, and a place in the cabinet; and from Mr. Monroe a situation in his cabinet, and the mission to England; all of which he declined.

On the great Cumberland road, there has been erected a large and beautiful monument, surmounted by a figure of Liberty, and inscribed "HENRY CLAY." These are evidences of the estimation in which Mr. CLAY has been held by his contemporaries; others might be adduced, but they would be superfluous.

Twice he has been nominated for the presidency, but without success. We trust that he is too firm in his republican principles to murmur, and that his friends will in some measure be consoled, by reflections similar to that, which we have adopted as a motto to this article.



ANDREW JACKSON,
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

Andrew Jackson

ANDREW

ANDREW JACKSON.

ANDREW JACKSON was born on the 15th March, 1767, in Waxsaw, South Carolina, a settlement whither his family had emigrated from Ireland two years previous. His father dying soon after the birth of this, his third son, ANDREW was left in the care of a faithful mother, who determined to afford him such a rudimental education, as would be of service to him in case her fond desire should be realized by his choosing the clerical profession. He had scarcely time to enter upon the study of the languages, when the revolutionary struggle involved his native spot in the commotion, and at the age of fourteen he abandoned school for the colonial camp. In consequence of the smallness of their number, the body of troops to which he was attached, were obliged to withdraw to North Carolina, but soon returned to their own settlement, where a party of forty were surprised by a large detachment of the enemy, and compelled to surrender. JACKSON and his brother eluded the fate of their companions, but were taken the next day, and kept in strict confinement, until they were exchanged after the battle of Camden. His eldest brother had previously perished in the service of the colony; his only surviving brother, the companion of his imprisonment, died in consequence of a wound inflicted by the officer of the British detachment, for refusing to perform menial services, and his mother survived him but a few weeks, a victim to anxiety and fatigue. ANDREW escaped with his life from the rage of the same officer, excited by the same cause, only by his dexterity in receiving on his hand the stroke of the sword which was aimed with fury at his head.

Having thus become heir to the whole of the moderate estate left by his father, he prosecuted his education. In 1784, he commenced the study of the law in Salisbury, North Carolina; was admitted to practice in 1786, and removed in 1788 to Nashville, to make an enterprising experiment in that newly peopled district of Tennessee. Professional success immediately attended him, in consequence of the singular condition of the affairs of the settlers. Many

of the young adventurers, who had traded on credit with the merchants of the town, were unable, or indisposed to fulfil their engagements, and had retained the only practitioner of the law then in Nashville, as their counsellor. The creditors had consequently no means of prosecuting their claims; but the moment of JACKSON'S arrival they availed themselves of his aid, and on the very next day he commenced seventy suits. This auspicious opening introduced him to a respectable business. He was soon after appointed attorney general of the district. The depredations of the Indians upon the new country frequently called him into active military service with his fellow citizens; among whom he was distinguished by his energy and valor. Thus conspicuous, he was selected, in 1796, as a delegate to the convention for forming a constitution for the state; and was in the same year elected to the lower house of congress. In the year following, he was delegated to the national senate, in which he took his seat, but resigned at the close of the session, alleging his distaste for the intrigues of politics. Within that period he was chosen major general of the Tennessee militia, and held the office until called to the same rank in the United States' service, in 1814.

Upon his retirement from the national legislature, General JACKSON was appointed to the bench of the supreme court of the state, an office which he accepted with diffidence and reluctance, and soon resigned, retiring from public life to his farm on the Cumberland river, near Nashville. Here he passed several years in the pursuits of agriculture, until summoned by the second war with Great Britain to take an active part in the defence of the country. He proceeded in the winter of 1812, at the head of twenty-five hundred volunteers, to the duty assigned him by the general government, of defending the lower states, and descended the Ohio and Mississippi to Natchez, where he had been instructed to await further orders. The danger of the anticipated invasion being dispelled, JACKSON was directed by the secretary of war to disband his troops on the spot. But a large number of his men being then sick, and destitute of the means of returning home, he felt bound by obligations to them and their families to lead them back, and to disregard an order made without the knowledge of his peculiar circumstances. This purpose he effected, sharing with his men in all the hardships of the return. His subsequent representations to the cabinet were accepted, and his course sanctioned.

The Creek Indians having become allies of the British, and perpetrated several massacres, the legislature of Tennessee placed a

force of thirty-five hundred of their militia under the command of JACKSON to proceed against them. The first attack upon the savages was made at Talladega, on the river Coosa, where a band of a thousand Creeks were routed and dispersed. In the beginning of 1814. another party was defeated at Emuckfaw, and in March, the general proceeded to the village of Tohopeka, or Horse-shoe, on the Tallapoosa, where a long and desperate battle was waged. The Indians screened themselves behind a long rampart of timbers and trunks of trees, directing their unerring fire from a double row of port-holes. The contest was prolonged from the morning to midnight of the 27th, when they were driven from the entrenchment, leaving upwards of five hundred of their warriors on the field. JACKSON determined to proceed next to Hoithlewalee, a Creek town near the junction of the Coosa and Tallapoosa; but the swelling of the streams by recent rains so much impeded his progress, that the enemy had time to escape. At the Hickory Ground, however, near the villages, the principal chiefs sued for peace, which was granted them on condition of their withdrawing to the neighborhood of fort Williams. Hostility being checked in this quarter, the troops took up their march homeward on the 21st April, terminating a most severe service; during which, the promptness and decision of the commander maintained the order and efficiency of the troops, (although menaced by mutiny and scarcity of provisions,) and by his celerity defeating the stratagems even of Indian warfare. "Within a few days," he observed to his army at the close of the war, "you have annihilated the power of a nation, that for twenty years has been the disturber of your peace."

His services in the campaign attracted the notice of government, and he was commissioned a major general, May, 1814. In the same year he was named a commissioner with Colonel Hawkins, to form a treaty with the subdued tribes, the principal object of which was to prevent any intercourse between them and the British and Spanish agents in the Floridas. This was accomplished at Alabama in August, and the right secured to the United States of establishing military posts in their territory.

While engaged in this employment, he discovered that the Indians were still encouraged and supported by the Spaniards in Florida, and that a British officer was permitted to organize and drill a body of British soldiers and fugitive Creeks in Pensacola. The remonstrances which JACKSON addressed to the Spanish governor were contemned. He anticipated a movement against New Orleans, and announced the

impending danger to the neighboring states, urging them to immediate and vigorous preparation. He drew a supply of volunteers from Tennessee, and proceeded in person to Mobile to make the defence of that point. An attack was soon commenced upon fort Bowyer, which commands the bay of Mobile, by a squadron with a force under Colonel Nicholls, who was repulsed with loss by the Americans under Major Lawrence. The British retired into Pensacola to refit, and JACKSON, who had in vain requested permission from the president to attack that town, so openly departing from its neutrality, determined to advance against it upon his own responsibility, throw a force into fort Barrancas, and expect the result. Accordingly, he took possession of the town with an army of three thousand, in the beginning of November, driving the Spaniards before him after a short but unavailing resistance. Fort Barrancas was blown up by the enemy after the surrender of the town, and that fortress being the main object of capture, in order to secure the command of Pensacola, JACKSON did not think it necessary to retain possession of the town, and returned to fort Montgomery.

The anxieties of the general were now directed to New Orleans, as the most probable point for the next attempt of the hovering enemy, and he reached that city on the first of December, 1814. The population of this denizen territory were not easily excited to the degree of alacrity required by the exigence, and the principal dependence of JACKSON to meet a large body of well-disciplined English troops, was upon the volunteers of Tennessee and Kentucky, whom he had summoned to his aid. He at once fortified the approaches to the city, with the coöperation of Commodore Patterson, who commanded a small naval force. Early on the morning of the 14th December, the enemy, in number about twelve hundred, approached in forty-three barges, and commenced an attack on the American flotilla lying in lake Borgne, consisting of five gun boats, and one hundred and eighty-two men. A brave defence was made by the gallant little squadron for about an hour, when the superior number of the enemy triumphed, and the Americans were carried prisoners to Cat island.

JACKSON now prepared for a more formidable attempt, and troops and arms were gradually arriving to his assistance. At this momentous juncture, he discovered that the safety of the country was exposed to the treachery of a number of disaffected inhabitants of New Orleans; and that the suspected might be put under proper restraint, he urged upon the legislature of Louisiana the necessity of suspending the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus. While the

measure was in the slow process of deliberation, JACKSON proclaimed the city to be under martial law, superseding all civil authority by a rigid military police.

On the 22d, the British secretly effected a landing, and reached the banks of the Mississippi, within seven miles of the city. As soon as this was known, he called upon Generals Coffee and Carroll to join him, and proceeded to meet the invaders. The hostile armies came in sight of each other near the close of the day. The number of the enemy was upwards of three thousand, the American force did not exceed two thousand; the latter, however, commenced the charge, and a severe conflict lasted until the darkness of the night confused the combatants. The British were driven before our army for nearly a mile, from several successive intrenchments. By continual accessions during the battle, the British force was estimated to have increased to the number of six thousand; the American commander deeming it rash to pursue his success at such a hazard, proceeded to prepare for defence by throwing up a breastwork in front of his army. On the 28th, these works were attacked by the enemy under their commander-in-chief, Sir Edward Packenham, and were forced to retire. Frequent skirmishes occurred between detached parties for several days, while the enemy were preparing for a grand assault. On the first of January, 1815, they opened a tremendous discharge from their batteries upon our lines, but the fire was returned with such success, that by three o'clock they were silenced.

On the fourth, a timely reinforcement from Kentucky added twenty-five hundred men to the American army. On the eighth, the enemy advanced in two divisions under Sir Edward Packenham, and owing to a fog, approached within a short distance of the intrenchments before they were discovered. A terrible and unceasing volley kept them back, and Packenham fell, fatally wounded. The British columns, sixty or seventy deep, were successively led on to the charge and broken by the dreadful havoc of the American fire, until they betook themselves to flight. JACKSON was obliged to submit to the mortification of withholding his men from pursuit, for a large portion of them were without arms, and to venture with so inferior a force to a battle on the open field would have been an unjustifiable risk. He was compelled, therefore, to remain in his post. The force of the British in this memorable engagement was at least nine thousand; the efficient American troops amounted to thirty-seven hundred. The enemy's loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners, is estimated at three thousand, while that of the victors was but thirteen

For several days after the battle, the British camp was harassed by a continual discharge from the batteries, which compelled the army to withdraw secretly to their ships on the night of the 18th, and they soon left the coast. The general entered New Orleans with his victorious troops on the 20th, where he was received with boundless enthusiasm, and solemn thanksgiving to Providence was offered in public services at the Cathedral. Insidious attempts were now made in New Orleans to destroy the strength of the army by encouraging mutiny and desertion. The city being still under martial law, JACKSON caused to be arrested a member of the legislature who had furnished the newspapers with articles of a pernicious tendency. Application was made to the district judge for a writ of habeas corpus, to be served on the general, which he granted in opposition to the positive injunctions of JACKSON, who promptly ordered the judge also to be arrested and sent from the city. Two days afterwards, official intelligence was received of the conclusion of a treaty of peace between the belligerent countries. The judge had no sooner resumed his office, than JACKSON was summoned to answer for his contempt of court in disregarding the writ, and in arresting the judicial officer. The general appeared and vindicated his course, through his counsel, but was fined in the sum of one thousand dollars. This sentence excited universal indignation, and the amount of the amercement was quickly contributed by the people; but the general had already discharged it from his own funds, and requested that the other sum should be distributed among the relatives of those, who had fallen in the battle.

The command being committed to General Gaines, JACKSON returned to his farm, where he remained until the end of 1817, when he was directed to proceed against the Seminole Indians, who, emerging from the Spanish territory, had committed repeated massacres of the Americans on the frontiers. At the head of the Tennessee volunteers, who were afterwards joined by the Georgia militia, he penetrated into Florida, destroyed the retreats of the skulking savages and fugitive slaves who had banded with them, and burned their villages. Two Englishmen, Arbuthnot and Ambrister, were arrested by his order, charged with exciting and leading on the insurgents. They were tried by a court of thirteen officers, found guilty, and in pursuance of their sentence, the former was hung and the other shot. After placing a garrison in St. Marks, the general was about returning to Tennessee, when he learned that the dispersed bands were combining west of the Appalachicola, under the countenance and pro-

tection of the governor of Pensacola. During May, he, with a force of twelve hundred, ranged the suspected district, and marched into Pensacola, of which he took possession; the governor flying to fort Barrancas, which was also yielded on the 28th. Two detachments were then sent to clear the country of the fugitives, which being accomplished, JACKSON returned home in June, 1818. The house of representatives, in the next session of congress, justified his course in taking temporary possession of the Spanish fortresses, and in executing the two British ringleaders. Soon after these events he visited the northern cities, where he was enthusiastically received with public and private honors.

When the Floridas were ceded by Spain to the United States, the president appointed General JACKSON a commissioner to receive the cession, and act as governor of the territory. This important annexation was officially announced by him at Pensacola in July, 1821, when he commenced his administration. Having organized his new government, he resigned his office, and returned to his farm in Tennessee.

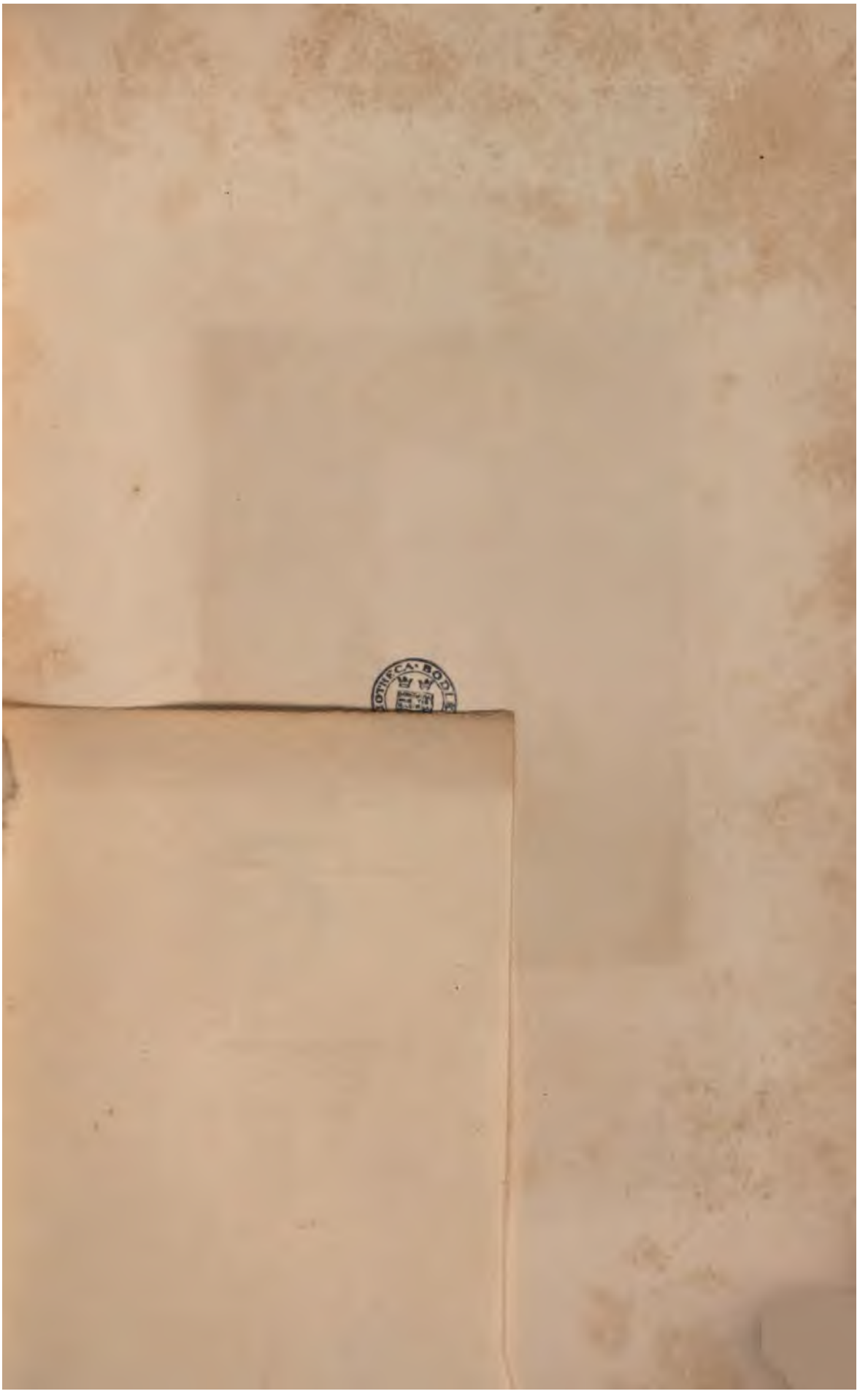
In the month of August, 1822, the legislature of Tennessee nominated General JACKSON as the successor of Mr. Monroe in the presidency of the United States, the proposition was favorably received in many parts of the union. He declined an appointment as minister to Mexico, and in 1823 was elected to the senate of the United States; but having now become a prominent candidate for the chief magistracy, he resigned his seat in the second session. The result of the popular elections of 1824 for president, gave General JACKSON a plurality, but not a majority of votes. The house of representatives were required, by the constitutional provision, to make a selection from the three who received the greatest number of votes, and the suffrages of the states gave the majority to Mr. Adams. General JACKSON was at once nominated to succeed Mr. Adams at the close of his term of service, and the elections of the colleges were reported to Congress on February 11, 1829, as giving to General JACKSON, one hundred and seventy-eight votes, and to Mr. Adams, his only competitor, eighty-three.

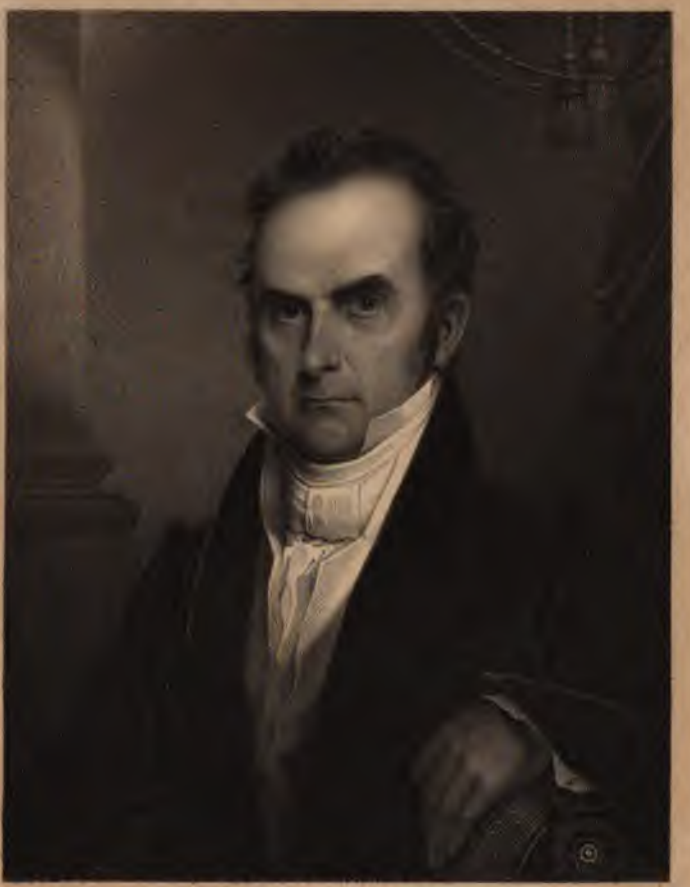
The past four years of his administration have not been barren of important incidents. The interests of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures—foreign treaties, internal improvements, and the removal of the Cherokee Indians—the United States' Bank, the South Carolina Ordinance, and the Proclamation of the 10th December, 1832, have been among the subjects which have been

agitated and discussed in congress and in the state legislatures,—in popular assemblies, and the public press, with a zeal and earnestness, we had almost said, unparalleled in the history of our country; but when we look back to former administrations, we find that in all of them, there has been something which has been made the rallying point of party; something to attach one portion of our citizens to the measures of government and to give discontent to others. By the constitution, it is made the duty of the president to recommend to congress such measures as he may judge necessary and expedient, and for such measures he is of course responsible to his country; but any member of congress may also introduce such as *he* may think necessary and expedient,—and if he can carry them through the legislative branch of the government, the executive must either approve, or disapprove of them, and thus be made responsible in one way or the other for the effect. As it is impossible for any measure of the government to be equally advantageous to every citizen, nor can all citizens possess precisely the same views, on subjects in which they have no immediate interest; there will and must be parties in the country: and whoever is, or may be president, there will be some to approve and praise, and others to censure and condemn him.

President JACKSON has now entered upon his second term of office, having been reëlected by an increased majority of the electoral votes. He commences this term under circumstances entirely different from the former, and the measures of the administration will be adapted accordingly. One of the most striking peculiarities in the present state of our country is, that it presents to the world the joyous spectacle of A FIRM REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT, WITHOUT A NATIONAL DEBT.

The person of JACKSON is tall and thin, and indicates a life of arduous toil. His countenance, though affected by the same cause, is animated and striking. In his manners, he is as though he had never dwelt in camps, nor been removed from scenes of gentlest courtesy. His name will go down to posterity as the HERO OF NEW ORLEANS, whose military ability covered with glory our citizen soldiers: and his presidential career will afford to the future historian and the political economist many important incidents and lessons of wisdom.





Drawn from life and Engraved by James B. Longacre.

DANIEL WEBSTER.

Daniel Webster

Entered according to Act of Congress in the year 1848 by James B. Longacre in the Clerks Office of the District Court of the Eastern District of Pennsylvania

DANIEL WEBSTER.

DANIEL WEBSTER was born in Salisbury, at the head of the Merrimack river, in the state of New Hampshire, on the 18th of January, 1782. His father, always a farmer, but at one period an officer in the war of the revolution, and for many years judge of the court of common pleas, was a man of a strongly marked character, full of decision, integrity, firmness, and good sense. He died in 1806, having lived, to see the spot where he had, with great difficulty, established himself, changed from being the frontier of civilization, to be the centre of a happy population, abounding in prosperity and resources.

The early youth of Mr. WEBSTER was passed in the midst of the forest, where the means for forming the character we now witness in him, seemed absolutely wanting; and but for the characteristic policy of New England, which carries its free schools even into the wilderness, he would have passed the "mute inglorious" life, which is entailed upon the peasantry of less favored countries. But the first upward aspiration, notwithstanding the unfavorable circumstances in which he was placed, was early given; and the impulse thus imparted to his young mind was never lost. Struggling always with difficulties, and not without great sacrifices on the part of his family, he was prepared for a higher course of education; and, at last, was graduated, in 1801, at Dartmouth college, having already developed faculties, which, so far as his academic career was concerned, left all rivalship far behind him.

His professional studies in the law were begun in his native town, under Mr. Thompson, soon afterwards a member of congress, and completed in Boston, under Mr. Gore, afterwards governor of Massachusetts, and one of its senators in congress, whose whole character, private, political, and professional, from its elevation, purity, and dignity, was singularly fitted to influence a young man of quick and generous feelings, who already perceived within himself the impulse of talents and the stirring of an ambition, whose direction was yet to

be determined. It was in Boston, that Mr. WEBSTER was admitted to the bar, in 1805; and it is a fact worth remembering, that, when Mr. Gore presented him to the court, he ventured to make a prediction respecting his pupil's future eminence, which all his present fame has not more than fulfilled.

Mr. WEBSTER began the practice of his profession at Boscawen, a small village near the place of his nativity; but, in 1807, removed to Portsmouth, the commercial capital of New Hampshire. There he at once rose to the rank of the most prominent in his profession; and under the influence of such intercourse as that with Mr. Smith, then chief justice of New Hampshire, and Mr. Mason, the leading counsel in the state, and of the first order of minds any where, he went through a stern intellectual training, and acquired that unsparing logic, which now renders him in his turn so formidable an adversary.

His first entrance on public life, was in 1812, soon after the declaration of war, when, at the early age of thirty, he was chosen one of the representatives of his native state to the thirteenth congress. His position there was a difficult one, and he felt it to be so. He was opposed to the policy of the war; the state he represented was earnestly opposed to it; and he had always, especially in the eloquent and powerful memorial from the great popular meeting in Rockingham, expressed himself frankly on the whole subject. But he was now called into the councils of the government, which was carrying on the war itself. He felt it to be his duty, therefore, to make no opposition for opposition's sake; though, at the same time, he felt it to be no less his duty, to take heed that, neither the constitution, nor the interests of the nation, were endangered or sacrificed. When, therefore, Mr. Monroe's bill, for a sort of conscription, was introduced, he joined with Mr. Eppes, and other friends of the administration, and defeated a project, which, except in a moment of great anxiety and excitement, would probably never have been proposed. But when, on the other hand, the bill, "for encouraging enlistments," was before the house, he made a speech, in January, 1814, in favor of adequate naval defence, and a perfect military protection of the northern frontier, which, now the passions of that stormy period are hushed, will find an echo in the heart of every lover of his country.

On the subject of a national bank, he took the same independent and patriotic ground, and maintained it with equal vigor and firmness. The administration, having found a bank indispensable, applied to congress for one, with fifty millions of capital, five only of which

were to be in specie, and the rest in the depreciated government securities of the period, with an obligation to lend the treasury thirty millions; but relieved from the necessity of paying its own notes in gold and silver. The project of such a bank, having passed the senate, came to the house, and was there discussed, December, 1814, and January, 1815. Mr. WEBSTER opposed it, on the ground, that it would only increase the embarrassments in the fiscal operations of the nation, and the pecuniary transactions of individuals, which were already in confusion, by the refusal of all the state banks south of New England, to pay in specie. He was, no doubt, right; and, probably, nobody now, on reviewing the discussion of the whole subject, would doubt it. But he carried his point, and defeated the bill, only by the casting vote of the speaker, Mr. Cheves.

Mr. WEBSTER'S opposition to the bank, however, had not been factious; and, therefore, the very next day, he took the initiative steps for bringing the whole subject immediately before the house again; and a sound, specie-paying bank, was almost as immediately agreed to; Mr. WEBSTER, and most of his friends, voting for it. The bill, however, to establish it, was rejected by the president, on the ground, that it was not sufficient to meet the exigencies of the case; which, indeed, we now know no bank would have been able to meet; and thus the question was again brought into a severe and protracted discussion, which was ended only by the unexpected news of the peace, January 17, 1815.

But the peace brought with it other conflicts and trials of the same nature. When the bill for the present bank of the United States was introduced, Mr. WEBSTER opposed it, on the ground, that the capital proposed was too large, and that it contained a provision to authorize a suspension of specie payments. On both points, his opposition, with that of his friends, was successful; but still, he was not satisfied with the bill; and the suggestions he made, predicting enormous subscriptions to the stock for purposes of speculation merely, and out of all proportion to the real ability of the subscribers, showed the statesman-like forecast, which has marked his whole political course; and were sadly justified by the difficulties that occurred in the early history of the bank itself.

Still less, however, was he satisfied with the condition of the circulating medium of the country, which was then fit neither for the safe management of the concerns of the government, nor for the security of private property. A large part of it consisted in the depreciated notes of the state banks, south of New England, in which

even the revenue of the government was receivable, at the different custom houses; so that there was a difference, he declared, of at least twenty-five per cent. in the rates of duties collected in different parts of the country, according to the value of the paper medium in which they were paid. The vast mischief which would follow this state of things were at once foreseen by Mr. WEBSTER; and he introduced a resolution, requiring the revenue of the United States to be collected only in the legal currency of the United States, or in bills equal to that currency in value. The passage of this resolution, the defeat of the paper-currency bank proposed in 1814, and the establishment of the present specie-paying bank, have saved us from confusion and disasters, which Mr. WEBSTER so clearly foresaw, and on which, now we understand more of their nature and extent, it is hardly possible to look back with composure.

The same principles and doctrines were again maintained by him, with equal steadiness, when the question of re-chartering the bank came up, in 1832. The objection of too large a capital was then removed, as he conceived, by the increased population, wealth, and wants of the country; and the objection to indiscriminate subscription could not recur, if the charter were renewed. Mr. WEBSTER, therefore, sustained it; and when the president had placed his *veto* upon it, rejoined, not on the ground sometimes taken, that the president had exceeded his authority; but, on the ground that he had exercised it to the injury of the country, and that the reasons he had given for it were untenable.

In 1816, Mr. WEBSTER determined to retire, at least for a time, from public life, and to change his residence. He had then lived in Portsmouth nine years, and they had been to him years of great happiness in his private relations, and, in his relations to the country, years of remarkable advancement and honor. But, in the disastrous fire, which, in 1813, destroyed a large part of that devoted town, he had sustained a heavy pecuniary loss, which the opportunities offered by his profession in New Hampshire were not likely to repair. He determined, therefore, to establish himself in a larger capital; and, in the summer of 1816, removed to Boston, where he has ever since resided.

His object was now professional occupation; and he devoted himself to it, for six or eight years, with unremitting assiduity; refusing to accept office, or to mingle in political discussion. His success was correspondent to his exertions. He was already known as a distinguished lawyer in his native state, and beginning to be known as

such in Massachusetts. The Dartmouth college cause, which he argued, in March, 1818, in the supreme court of the United States, placed him in the first rank of American jurists, at the early age of thirty-six; and from that time his attendance on this great tribunal has been constantly secured by retainers in the most important causes; and the circle of his professional business, which has been regularly enlarging, has not been exceeded, if it has been equalled, by that of any other lawyer, who has ever appeared in the national forum. Few of his arguments, however, are reported, and even those few are exhibited only in a dry and technical outline. Among them, the most remarkable are, the case of Gibbons *vs.* Ogden, in 1824, involving the question of the steam-boat monopoly; and the case of Ogden *vs.* Saunders, 1827, involving the question of state insolvent laws, when they purport to absolve the party from the obligation of the *contract.* In these, and in all his other forensic efforts, we see what is most characteristic of Mr. WEBSTER'S mind as a lawyer: his clearness and downright simplicity in stating facts; his acute analysis of difficulties; his earnest pursuit of truth for truth's sake, and of the principles of law for the sake of right and justice; and his desire to attain them all by the most direct and simple means. It is this plainness, this simplicity, in fact, that makes him so prevalent with the jury; and not only with the jury in court, but with the great jury of the whole people.

But, during the years just passed over, Mr. WEBSTER'S success was not confined to the bar. In the year 1820–21, he was a member of a convention of delegates, assembled in Boston, to revise the constitution of Massachusetts, and exercised a preponderating influence in an assembly of greater dignity and talent than was ever before collected in that ancient commonwealth. On the 22d of December, 1820, the day when the two hundredth year from the first landing of the forefathers, at Plymouth, was completed, Mr. WEBSTER, by the sure indication of the public will, was summoned to that consecrated spot, and, in an address, which is the gravest of his published works, so spoke of the centuries past, that the centuries yet to come shall receive and remember his words. Again, in 1825, fifty years from the day when the solemn drama of the American revolution was opened, on Bunker's hill, Mr. WEBSTER stood there, and interpreted to assembled thousands the feelings with which that great event will for ever be regarded. Again, too, in the summer of 1826, he was called upon to commemorate the services which Adams and Jefferson had rendered, when they carried through the declaration

of independence; and which they so mysteriously sealed, by their common death, exactly half a century afterwards. And finally, on the 22d of February, 1832, at the completion of a century from the birth of Washington, and in the city which bears his name, Mr. WEBSTER exhibited him to the country as standing at the head alike of a new world, and of a new era, in the history of man. These four occasions were all memorable; as memorable, perhaps, as any that have occurred to Americans in our time; and the genius of Mr. WEBSTER has sent them down, marked with its impress, to posterity.

But, during a part of the period over which we have slightly passed, he was again in public life. From 1823 to 1827, he was a member of the house of representatives, from the city of Boston, in the seventeenth and eighteenth congresses. His first distinguished effort, on this second appearance in the national councils, was his "Greek speech," in which, with the forecast of a statesman, he showed, as plainly as events have since proved it, that the principles laid down by the great powers in Europe from the congress of Paris, in 1814, to that of Laybach, in 1821, as the basis on which to maintain the peace of the world, mistook the spirit of the age, and would speedily be overturned by the irresistible power of popular opinion. In 1824, he entered fully into the great discussions about the tariff; and examined the doctrines of exchange, and the balance of trade, with an ability which has prevented them from being since, what they had so often been before, subjects of crude and unsatisfactory controversy in both houses of congress. In 1825, he prepared and carried through the crimes act, which, as a just tribute to his address and exertions, his great wisdom and patient labor, already bears his name; and, in the same session of congress, he defended, as he had defended them in 1816, the principles involved in the exercise of the power of internal improvements by the general government. These, with the discussions respecting the bill for enlarging the number of judges of the supreme court of the United States, and respecting the Panama mission, were the more prominent subjects on which Mr. WEBSTER exhibited his remarkable powers during the four sessions in which he represented the city of Boston in the house of representatives.

In 1826, he was reëlected, almost unanimously, to represent the same district yet a third time; but, before he had taken his seat, a vacancy having occurred in the senate, he was chosen, without any regular opposition, to fill it; an honor, which was again conferred upon him in 1833, by a sort of general consent and acclamation.

How he has borne himself as a senator, is known to the whole country. No man has been found able to intercept from him the constant regard of the nation; so that, whatever he has said, has been watched and understood throughout the borders of the land, almost as familiarly and thoroughly as it has been at Washington. The speeches he has made on the great questions of the tariff, and of internal improvements; his beautiful defence of the bill for the relief of the surviving officers of the revolution; his report on the apportionment of representatives; and his statesman-like discussions respecting a national bank; are known to all who know any thing about the affairs of the country. But, though the eyes of all have thus been fastened on him, in such a way, that nothing relating to him, can have escaped their notice, there are two occasions, where he has attracted a kind and degree of attention, which, as it is rarely given to any man in any country, is so much the more honorable whenever it is obtained. We refer now, of course, to the two great debates of 1830 and 1833, when he overthrew the doctrine of nullification.

An attempt to put a construction upon the constitution, which has resulted in these doctrines, can be traced back as far as to May, 1828, when two or more meetings, of the South Carolina delegates, were held at General Hayne's lodgings, in Washington; and to the assembling of the legislature of South Carolina, in the autumn of the same year, when, on the 19th of December, a document, called, "An Exposition and Protest," prepared, as is understood, by Mr. Calhoun, then vice president of the United States, was produced, in order to exhibit and enforce those doctrines, on which that state relied for success in the contest into which she was then entering. In January, 1830, in the confident hope of obtaining further sanction to them, they were brought forward in the senate of the United States, by General Hayne; though the resolution, under color of which they were thus produced, had nothing to do with them. Mr. WEBSTER was, therefore, in a measure, taken by surprise; but his whole life had been a preparation for an encounter with any man, who should assail the great principles of the federal constitution; and his speeches, on this occasion, in reply to General Hayne, though called from him almost without premeditation, are the result of principles which had grown up with him from his youth, and were now developed with all the matured power of his mind and strength.

The same consequences, or consequences even more honorable, to Mr. WEBSTER, followed the attempt made in the winter of 1833,

to enforce in the senate the same unsound doctrines; and the tumultuous and unparliamentary shout of applause that followed his great speech, in reply to Mr. Calhoun, which burst involuntarily from the hearts of the multitude, that listened to him, has since been echoed from all the borders of the land.

These, indeed, are the triumphs peculiarly adapted to Mr. WEBSTER'S extraordinary powers. He is eminently and entirely the child of our free institutions. None other could have educated or reared him; in none other could his talents find their most appropriate and lofty exercise. From the days when, amidst the fastnesses of nature, his young feet with difficulty sought the rude school house, where his earliest aspirations were nurtured, up to the moment when he came forth from the senate chamber, conscious that he had overthrown the doctrine of nullification, and contended successfully for the union of the states, it is plain that he has constantly depended for the highest development and the proudest exercise of his imposing talents, on the free institutions of our free government; so that, whatever may be his future destiny, his hopes and his fortunes can be advanced only by the continued stability and progress of what is essentially characteristic of us as a free and an united people.

WILLIAM WIRT.

William Wirt

WILLIAM WIRT.

It is a particular felicity of our republican institutions, that they throw no impediment in the career of merit, but the competition of rival abilities. Into this career, it may enter without encountering the repulses of artificial rank, or winning its patronage by unworthy compliances. As the father of an American family divides his favor and his fortune alike among his children, so, the republic gives the same impulse to all her sons, and receives in return a larger contribution of their talents and services. There are many, no doubt, who have overcome much greater embarrassments than the subject of this memoir: nevertheless, he is one of the many examples of this sort, pleasing in themselves, especially when considered as characteristic of the country.

William Wirt, the late attorney general of the United States, is a native of Bladensburg, in Maryland; was born on the 18th of November, 1772, and lost his parents at a very early age. This event placed him under the guardianship of his paternal uncle, Jasper Wirt, also a resident of the same village, in the neighborhood of which William received the rudiments of his education. In his seventh year he was removed to a school in Georgetown, District of Columbia, and thence to another, at New Port Church, Charles county, Maryland; but the chief part of his education was received at the school of the Reverend James Hunt, in Montgomery county, at which he was placed in his eleventh year, and continued till he was fifteen. Under the instruction of this gentleman, he went through the usual course of the grammar schools of those days, being initiated in the Latin and Greek classics, and in some of the branches of the mathematics, to which his teacher added some instruction in natural philosophy. Here, too, he had the advantage of a good miscellaneous library, cultivated his taste for polite literature, and became a confirmed student and author when about thirteen years of age. As Montgomery court-house was at no great distance, the boys were allowed to visit it occasionally on court days, and in imitation of what they saw and heard there, they formed a court of their own.

WIRT draughted the constitution and laws, which he reported with an apologetic letter prefixed. On the school being broken up, in 1787, Mr. Benjamin Edwards, the father of one of his schoolfellows, (Ninian Edwards, the late governor of Illinois,) having seen the juvenile essay and letter alluded to, was induced to invite their author under his roof, where he accordingly remained in the capacity of teacher about a year and a half. This was a fortunate event to a young man whose patrimony was inadequate to support him at college, or in the acquirement of a profession; and Mr. WIRT has often been heard to express his conviction, that to Mr. Edwards' peculiar and happy cast of character, he owed most of what may be praiseworthy in his own.

From this residence, and these occupations, he was forced by some symptoms of bad health, and went, for the benefit of the climate, to Augusta, in Georgia. On his return in the succeeding spring, he began the study of law at Montgomery court-house, with Mr. William P. Hunt, the son of his former preceptor. He was afterward a student at Leesburg, Virginia, under Mr. Thomas Swann; was licensed for practice in the autumn of 1792, and removed to Culpepper Court-house, in Virginia, where he the same year began the professional career, in which he has attained such eminent renown.

He at this time possessed a vigorous constitution, with a prepossessing mien and manners; these, combined with great felicity of conversation, and a lively, fertile wit, are described by one who knew him a short time after this date, to have been attractive in a very uncommon degree, and to have made his society eagerly sought, especially by the gay and young. His first essay at the bar was fortunate, and gained him friends, as well as subsequent success. He married, in 1795, Mildred, the eldest daughter of Doctor George Gilmer, of Pen Park, near Charlottesville. Residing, after his marriage, in the family of his father-in-law, who was an accomplished scholar and wit, as well as an eminent physician, and the intimate associate of Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Madison, and Mr. Monroe, he found in these celebrated men, and in others, who were attracted by the benevolent character and hospitality of Doctor Gilmer, very cordial as well as desirable friends; while in the elegant library of the latter, he cultivated his mind by the study of the elder philosophical writers, or employed himself assiduously in composition.

The death of his wife, an accomplished and amiable woman, in 1799, interrupted this happy and profitable course of life, and suspended, for a while, his professional pursuits. For change of scene,

he was persuaded to go to Richmond, his friends procuring his election to the clerkship of the house of delegates, which post he held during three sessions of the assembly. Not having entirely relinquished the practice of law, he volunteered, in 1800, in the well-known trial of Callender; and in the same year he was selected to pronounce the anniversary oration on the fourth of July.

The charm of his conversation and manners, which had won him distinguished esteem in the elevated and intellectual circle of Pen Park and Monticello, followed him into the associations, which, as clerk of the house of delegates, he was thrown into, with the members of the legislature. That body gave him a signal mark of its consideration, by appointing him, in 1802, the chancellor of the eastern chancery district of Virginia.

In the autumn of the same year he married the daughter of the late Colonel Gamble, of Richmond, and finding the salary of the chancellorship unequal to the support of a family, he resigned it, and resumed the practice of law. It was just before he removed to Norfolk, in the winter of 1803–4, that he wrote the essays under the name of "The British Spy." They were published originally in the Richmond Argus, and were hastily composed, under some uneasiness, which he hoped to divert, arising from the ill-health of his wife. Some of the sketches in these essays had a wide popularity, and that of the "Blind Preacher" penetrated, we believe, into every hamlet of the country.

At Norfolk, he practised with increasing success till 1806, when, at the solicitation of his friends, he removed to Richmond, as a wider professional theatre, then adorned by men of the first legal talents and learning. In this city, and often, likewise, in distant parts of the state, he pursued his profession for eleven years, with still extending reputation, which enlarged into celebrity by the trial of Aaron Burr, against whom, under the direction of President Jefferson, he was employed as prosecuting counsel.

This trial took place in 1807, soon after Mr. WIRT's removal to Richmond, and created, it is well known, an earnest interest in all classes of people. Great learning and abilities were exhibited at once in the prosecution and defence; public passion augmented the intrinsic importance of the affair; and the whole theatre was well adapted, to call out the talents of the actors on either side. The report of the trial has made his speeches familiar to lawyers; and some passages of them are still more so, as popular specimens of eloquence.

In the following winter he sat for the only time in a legislative

body, being elected without canvass, a delegate to the assembly from Richmond. As a member of a committee, he brought in a report and resolutions, respecting the aggressions of France and Great Britain on our commerce, and in support of the consequent measures of Mr. Jefferson's administration. He wrote in the same year, some essays in the Richmond Enquirer, signed "One of the People," addressed to the members of congress, who had united in a protest against the nomination of Mr. Madison for president, and exhibiting the character and services of that illustrious citizen. He published, about the same time, an address to the people of Virginia, in recommendation of domestic manufactures, and some essays signed the "Sentinel," investigating and approving some financial and other views of Mr. Jefferson.

The appointment of Mr. WIRT by Mr. Monroe, to the attorney-generalship of the United States, (which had been preceded by his receiving from Mr. Madison the post of United States' attorney for the district of Virginia,) caused him to remove to Washington in the winter of 1817–18, and brought him into the arena of the supreme court; than which, no forensic theatre, perhaps, ever presented more accomplished and powerful antagonists. Mr. WIRT's practice soon became extensive, and his celebrity kept pace with it, as an eloquent advocate and learned jurist. The attorney-generalship he held through three presidential terms, longer by many years than any of his predecessors; and his labors in this arduous post, seem to have surpassed theirs in the same proportion, being the first of those officers that sat in the cabinet, and the only one that left any official opinions or precedents, to guide his successors. He resigned his place at the end of Mr. Adams' administration, and removed to Baltimore, where he now resides.

Before he left Washington, he had pronounced, at the request of the citizens of that place, an eulogy on the two patriots, who by so singular a coincidence, ended their lives on the same anniversary of the national independence. This composition contains some passages of finished oratory, and has more especially infused into it the classic tincture of his reading In 1830, he made at Rutgers college, a discourse of a more didactic nature, in which we discern that love of virtue and decorum, which breathes in all his writings. He was selected the same year to deliver the address at the celebration of the French revolution of July, by the citizens of Baltimore; and about the same time, he received a nomination among the candidates for the presidency of the United States.

WILLIAM WIRT.

As Mr. WIRT has been long conversant with the first minds of the age, as well as in an avocation which presents life in many aspects, his conversation abounds with characteristic anecdotes, to which his knowledge gives grace; and his disposition to view mankind on their better side, a touch of good nature. His wit is tinged with the same good feeling, and though it can be roused into sarcasm, is playful and gentle. Few men, in so extensive and successful a career, have excited so little enmity, or been the object of as general and durable regard.

As a writer, Mr. WIRT is chiefly known by productions, which were the work, or rather the amusement, of a very small portion of leisure. The essays of the "Spy," and the "Old Bachelor," which were never anticipated to live beyond the date of the journals they appeared in, were composed under the double haste of daily business and the prompting of the occasion. Under such circumstances, we may wonder, that a lawyer devoted with especial sedulousness to his pursuits, who at no time languished in want of practice, and who, when the last of them appeared, had reached high emolument and honor, should have had the time, the taste, and the affection for letters, to send forth two series of essays, which were received with uncommon pleasure by the public. Indeed they have obtained what may be considered a permanent popularity; the "Old Bachelor," having gone through three editions, and the "British Spy" through nine. Their tone is elevated, the thoughts for the most part elegant and natural, and in sketches of character and manner, the author has been particularly happy.

In the "Life of Patrick Henry," as being the work of more mature age, we might expect the ornamental declamation, sometimes objected to his writings, to be much abated. But though this biography was designed by the author for many years, it eventually passed from his hands under the same circumstances of haste, as his other productions. He had also for a subject a very extraordinary man, of whom it was difficult to speak in the terms employed by the witnesses of his displays, without being thought to surcharge the picture; and who, while he commanded the unlimited admiration of his contemporaries, especially in his native state, may be said to have left scarcely "the foot of Hercules," by which posterity might compute the proportions of the whole heroic image.

The oratorical diction of Mr. WIRT is correct and elegant, various as well as rich, and remarkably perspicuous. As to the personal qualifications for his art, his figure has been said by an eloquent

panegyrist of him, to be "dignified and commanding; his countenance open, manly, and playful; his voice clear and musical; his whole appearance truly oratorical." His aspect expresses both benignity and intelligence. His enunciation is distinct; and it merits perhaps to be mentioned, both as an encouragement to such as labor under a like embarrassment, and an example of what may be accomplished by care, under the guidance of a good taste and a fine ear, that this was by no means the case at an earlier period. On the contrary, it was then somewhat hurried and harsh, and sometimes inarticulate. His action is unstudied, and perhaps less energetic than graceful.

The qualities of Mr. WIRT in private intercourse have been already slightly spoken of, and more might be added, if such a topic could be properly enlarged on. It is of that general cast which may be gathered from his writings, and thus far, therefore, may be adverted to without flattery. "Bonum virum facile crederes, magnum libenter." As he has lived much and familiarly with the first men of the country, and has strong powers of observation and memory, with equal felicity of anecdote, it is a natural wish, that he may find leisure to record his recollections, if not for the amusement of the present age, at least for the instruction of a succeeding one.

Engraved by T.B. Welch from a Painting by J.H. Longacre.

LEWIS CASS.

Lewis Cass.

Entered according to Act of Congress in the year 1848 by Lewis Cass in the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the United States for the

LEWIS CASS

Lewis Cass

LEWIS CASS.

In presenting to the public a series of portraits and memoirs of men distinguished in public life, it is scarcely to be hoped that our selections should always meet with uniform approval. The strong bias of party spirit, of sectional interest, or of professional collision, may sometimes award us but faint praise. We shall, however, endeavor to pursue our course with strict impartiality. Public men, who maintain an elevated rank in popular favor, in a country where their opinions and acts are open to certain scrutiny and free remark, must be possessed of more than ordinary merit. And we believe that we shall have public opinion decidedly with us, when we say, that it has fallen to the lot of few to occupy as various and important stations in the republic with so large a share of approbation, as the subject of the present sketch.

Lewis Cass, the present Secretary of War, was born in Exeter, New Hampshire, October 9th, 1782. His ancestors were among the first settlers of that part of the country, and his father bore a commission in the revolutionary army, which he joined the day after the battle of Lexington, and in which he continued until the close of the war, having participated in the memorable battles of Bunker Hill, Saratoga, Trenton, Princeton, Monmouth, and Germantown. He was afterwards a major in Wayne's army. In 1799 he moved with his family to Marietta, but eventually settled at Wackalomoka, in the vicinity of Zanesville, in Ohio, where, after a life of honorable usefulness, he died in August, 1830.

His son, Lewis Cass, was educated at the academy of Exeter, and studied law at Marietta, under the late Governor Meigs. He was admitted to the bar in 1802, and pursued the practice of his profession successfully during several years.

In 1806 he was elected a member of the Ohio legislature. When the enterprise of Colonel Burr began to agitate the country, he was appointed on the committee to which the subject was referred, and drafted the law which enabled the local authorities to arrest the men

and boats on their passage down the Ohio. This law, interposing the arm of the state, baffled a project which was generally believed to have been of a revolutionary character, and intended to divide the west from the east. The same pen drafted the address to Mr. Jefferson, which unfolded the views of the Ohio legislature on this momentous subject.

In 1807, Mr. CASS was appointed marshal of the state, which office he resigned in 1813. In 1812, he volunteered his services in the force which was called out to join the army under General William Hull, and marched to Dayton, where he was elected colonel of the 3d regiment of Ohio volunteers. Having to break through an almost trackless wilderness, the army suffered much on its route to Detroit, and it was necessary that the officers of the volunteers should be exemplars in fatigue and privations, lest the men, unused to military discipline, should turn back in discouragement. Colonel CASS was among the most urgent for an invasion of the Canadian province immediately after the army arrived at Detroit; but General Hull did not cross the river until after the lapse of several days, and thereby lost all the advantages of a prompt and decisive movement. The advanced detachment was commanded by Colonel CASS, and he was the first man who landed, in arms, on the enemy's shore after the declaration of war. On entering Canada, General Hull distributed a proclamation among the inhabitants, which, at the time, had much notoriety, and was generally ascribed to Colonel CASS: it is now known that he wrote it. Whatever opinions may have been entertained of the inglorious descent from promise to fulfilment, it was generally regarded as a high spirited and eloquent document. Colonel CASS soon dislodged the British posted at the bridge over the Canards. There he maintained his ground, in expectation that the army would advance and follow up the success, by striking at Malden; but he was disappointed by the indecision of the general, who ordered the detachment to return.

In all the timorous and inefficient measures which followed, Colonel CASS had no responsible participation. His known disapprobation of the course pursued, made him an unwelcome counsellor at head quarters. When the army capitulated he was not present; but the detachment with which he was serving, under Colonel M'Arthur, was included, and being unable to retreat by the impracticable route behind it, submitted, and was embarked for Ohio. Colonel CASS immediately repaired to Washington, and made a report to government. In the following spring he was exchanged and

appointed colonel of the 27th regiment of infantry, and soon after was promoted to the rank of brigadier general. He joined General Harrison at Seneca, and crossing Lake Erie with him, after Perry's victory, was present in the pursuit of Proctor, and participated in the triumph at the Moravian towns. The north-western campaign being happily terminated, General Cass was left in command of Michigan and the upper province of Canada. His head quarters were at Detroit, and he thus became the military guardian of a people over whom he was soon (October 9, 1813,) called to preside as civil governor. In July, 1814, he was associated with General Harrison in a commission to treat (at Greenville, Ohio,) with the Indians, who had taken part against the United States during the war. A treaty of pacification was formed,—comparative tranquillity was restored to the frontiers, and a large body of Indians accompanied Governor Cass to Detroit, as auxiliaries. At one period, Michigan was left with only one company of regular soldiers for its defence, and that at the time consisted of twenty-seven men. With this inadequate force, and the local militia, the governor was, for a time, left to defend the territory against the hostile Indians, who were constantly hovering around Detroit.

In 1815, after the termination of the war, Governor Cass moved his family to Detroit. Michigan had suffered greatly during the war; Detroit exhibited a scene of devastation. Scarcely a family, when it resumed its domestic establishment, found more than the remnants of former wealth and comforts. Laws had become silent, and morals had suffered in the general wreck, and it required great prudence and an uncommon share of practical wisdom to lead back a people thus disorganised, to habits of industry and order. The civil government was established, and such laws enacted as could be most easily carried into effect. The legislative power being placed in the hands of the governor and judges, rendered it a delicate task to aid in the enactment of laws which were to be enforced by the same will; but it was performed with decision and enlightened discrimination.

The Indian relations were likewise to be readjusted throughout the western frontier. War had ruptured, or weakened every tie which had previously connected the tribes with our government. By decisive, but kind measures, the hollow truce which alone existed, was converted into a permanent peace, and they returned, by degrees, to their hunting grounds and usual places of resort, with a general disposition to live in amity and quiet.

During the same year, Governor Cass was associated with General M'Arthur to treat with the Indians at Fort Meigs. The north-

western part of Ohio was acquired at this time. The following year he was engaged in the same duty at St. Mary's, to carry into effect, with certain modifications, the treaty of Fort Meigs, and for the acquisition of land in Indiana. In 1819 he assisted in the treaty held at Sagano, by which large relinquishments were obtained from the Indians in Michigan. In all these negotiations, Governor Cass acted on the principle of frankness and fair reciprocity.

Two events occurred this year in Michigan, which gave a new aspect to her hopes and promises of prosperity. One was the privilege of electing a delegate to congress; the other was the sale of public lands within the territory. No one exerted himself with more zeal to effect these improvements than the governor, as he was convinced that the introduction of the elective franchise among the people, would elevate their political character; and that by the sale of the public land the population and prosperity of the country would be rapidly advanced.

In 1820, an expedition was planned by Governor Cass, under the sanction of Mr. Calhoun, then secretary of war, the object of which was to pass through Lake Superior, cross the country to the Mississippi, explore the sources of that river, and establish an intercourse with the Indians, on that extensive route. The party combined persons of science, who were capable of ascertaining the physical character of the country, and of making an instructive report, among whom were Mr. Schoolcraft, and Captain Douglass of the corps of engineers. A preliminary object was, to inform the Indians at the Sault de St. Marie of the intention of government to establish a military post at that point, and to determine the site. On his arrival there, Governor Cass assembled the Indians and made known the object in view. Being under the influence of a chief who was notoriously disaffected towards the United States, they heard the proposition with evident ill will, and broke up the council with every appearance of hostile intentions. They returned to their encampment, immediately transported their women and children over the river, and raised a British flag, as if in token of defiance. Governor Cass at once adopted the only course suited to the emergency. Taking only an interpreter with him, he advanced to the Indian encampment and pulled down, with his own hands, the anglo-savage flag, directing the interpreter to inform the Indians that they were within the jurisdiction of the United States, and that no other flag than theirs must be allowed to wave over it. Having given this bold and practical rebuke, he returned to his party, taking with him the flag, and leaving the

Indians to further reflection. The moral influence of this opportune and seemingly perilous step, was immediately seen; new overtures were made by the Indians, which led to an amicable and satisfactory adjustment. The course of the expedition, and most of its scientific results, have been published in Mr. Schoolcraft's interesting journal.

In 1821, the services of Governor Cass were again brought into requisition by the government, to assist in another treaty, to be negotiated at Chicago. He embarked at Detroit, in a birch canoe, ascended the Maumee, crossed into the Wabash, descended that river to the Ohio, went down the Ohio to the Mississippi, and ascended that and the Illinois to Chicago. By the treaty formed there, all the country in Michigan, not before ceded, south of Grand river, was acquired.

In 1823, Governor Cass concluded an arrangement with the Delaware Indians, by which they ceded some valuable tracts on the Muskingum, in Ohio.

In 1825, he proceeded to Prairie du Chien, where, in conjunction with General Clark, a treaty of general pacification was concluded among the north-westerly tribes. In his tour of 1820, Governor Cass had observed that one abundant source of contention among the Indians arose from uncertain or undefined boundaries. In order to remove this cause, as many as practicable of the tribes were collected at this time, in order to ascertain, by tradition and custom, and establish by general consent, the limits of each dominion. Much difficulty attended this negotiation, as each tribe apprehended a diminution of its own power, and an increase of its neighbor's. But the objects of the treaty, were, in part, attained. A common acceptance of certain geographical or other known boundaries, was obtained. The beneficial effects of this important treaty will be accruing with each coming year. Although many may dissent from the terms of the treaty, for a time, yet lines of separation, defined with so much solemnity, and by such general consent, will at last be appealed to as decisive, and become unalterably fixed. War will still prevail, but border contests, the most inveterate and sanguinary, may be appeased. The following year he again traversed the great lake to fulfil the benevolent purposes of government. A treaty was held, at Fond du Lac, with those tribes who were too remote from Prairie du Chien, to have met there. The great object of these treaties was to remove the causes of contention between the tribes, by inducing them to accept of certain geographical or other known boundaries, as the limits of each dominion. Colonel

M'Kenney, who was associated with Governor Cass on this occasion, has given a lively and picturesque account of the excursion. Another treaty was made on the Wabash, on their return from Lake Superior, by which the Indians ceded a large tract of land in Indiana.

In 1827, treaties were negotiated at Green Bay and at St. Joseph's; Governor Cass was an agent in both. On his arrival at Green Bay, instead of finding the Winnebagoes, who were to have been parties in the negotiation, he learned that they were collecting in hostile bodies, for the purpose of waging war against the whites. With his usual promptitude he adapted his course to the emergency. Embarking in a birch canoe he ascended the Fox river, crossed the Portage, and had partly descended the Ouisconsin, when he perceived an encampment of Winnebagoes on its bank. To show his confidence in them, he landed alone, and approached the wigwams; but the Indians refused to hold any communication with him. After much fruitless endeavor to conciliate, he returned towards his canoe, when a young Indian snapped his rifle at his back. Whether the piece was loaded and missed fire; or the act was an empty, but significant token of enmity, is not known.

Pursuing his course down the river, he reached Prairie du Chien, and found the settlement there in a state of extreme alarm. A large boat on the Mississippi had been attacked by a numerous band, and escaped capture only by a gallant but bloody defence; and a whole family had been murdered and scalped on the skirts of the village. Having organised the inhabitants in the best manner, for their own defence, there being no garrison there at the time, he descended the Mississippi to St. Louis, where the means of defence were to be obtained, and at his suggestion a large detachment of United States troops was moved up the river, in time to prevent further bloodshed. In the mean time Governor Cass returned to the bay, in the same canoe, by the way of the Illinois and Lake Michigan, having made a circuit of about eighteen hundred miles, with unprecedented rapidity. His celerity of movement, and the alacrity with which the United States troops seconded his call, probably averted a war that might have embraced the whole north-west frontier. A negotiation followed, which restored tranquillity. The apparent violence offered to him by the Indian on the Ouisconsin, is the only instance of that nature which had occurred during his long and intimate intercourse with the Indians.

In 1828 another treaty was held by him at Green Bay; and another at St. Joseph's, by which a cession was procured for Indiana.

In these various treaties, Governor Cass had been instrumental in acquiring for the United States, and rescuing from the wilderness, for the great agricultural purposes of the country, many millions of acres of land; and in a manner which ought to leave no consciousness on his mind, that he has aggravated the lot of a single tribe of Indians.

The first council of Michigan met in 1822. This body relieved the governor and judges of their legislative duties, and gave the government of the territory a more republican form. Governor Cass's messages to the several councils, convened under his administration, were always written in a chaste and dignified style; indeed, all the public documents that came from his pen, while governor of the territory, may be regarded as good models of executive composition, and exhibit a highly cultivated literary taste. But his literary reputation rests on a broader and more appropriate basis than his gubernatorial writings.

Sometime in the year 1825, John Dunn Hunter's narrative appeared, which, at the time, attracted much attention. Governor Cass, in the course of his tours through the west, had satisfied himself that this work was an imposture. In determining to expose it to the world, his mind was led to dwell on the ample subject of Indian character, language, and condition, and he wrote the article which appeared in the fiftieth number of the North American Review. The subject was full of interest, and was written in a style uncommonly earnest and eloquent, and the public was gratified to find that a theme so interesting and important, had engaged the attention of so cultivated and liberal a mind. Another article of his, presenting the aborigines under new aspects, appeared in the fifty-fifth number of the same periodical. This article, which was altogether of an historical and statistical character, attracted equal attention with its precursor.

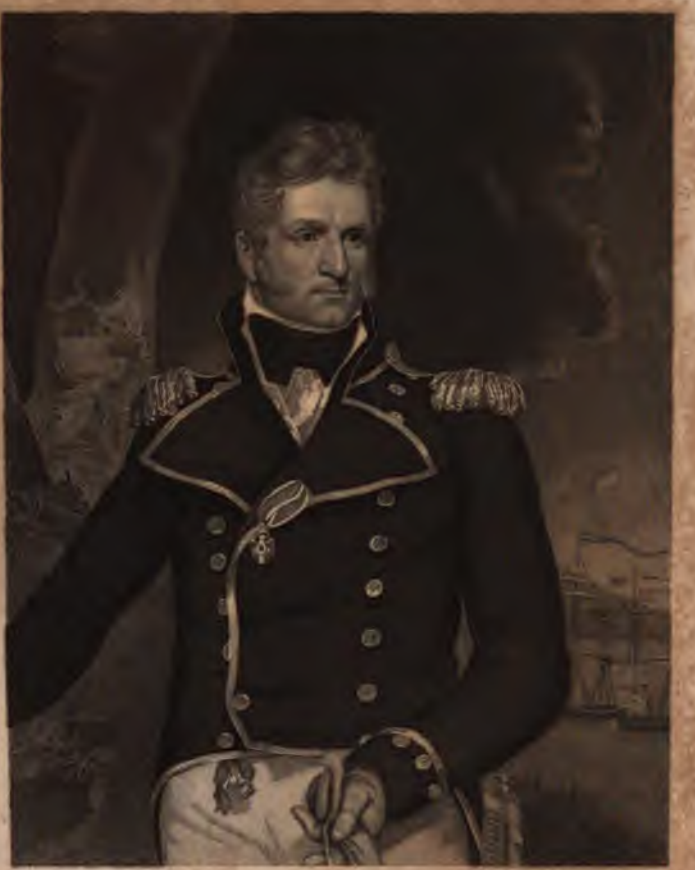
Sometime in 1828, a historical society was formed in Michigan, of which Governor Cass was elected the president. He delivered the first address before it in 1829. This address, embodying the early history of Michigan, brings it down to the period when the United States came into possession of it. Its publication excited a spirit of research and inquiry, which has already produced the most beneficial results.

In 1830, Governor Cass was invited by the alumni of Hamilton college, New York, to deliver an address at their anniversary meeting. He accepted the invitation, and in the address which he delivered, displayed an affluence of reading and reflection which proved his habitual acquaintance with most of the departments of human know-

ledge. From that college he subsequently received the honorary degree of L L. D. He had previously been admitted an honorary member of the American Philosophical Society, in Philadelphia; of the New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Indiana Historical Societies; of the American Antiquarian Society; and of the Columbian Institute.

In July, 1831, having been appointed secretary of war by President Jackson, Governor Cass resigned his office as governor of the territory, after having administered it for eighteen years. When he began his administration, he found the country small in population, without resources, and almost sunk under the devastations of war. He left it with a wide spread population, and thriving with unprecedented prosperity. This auspicious condition may not all be attributed to executive instrumentality. But an administration, impartial, vigilant, pervading, and intelligent, may be fairly supposed to have shed a happy influence on all around. It will long be remembered in Michigan, where its termination is universally regretted. In the important station which he now holds, his sphere of usefulness is enlarged, and none of his predecessors ever enjoyed a greater share of public confidence.

"Strict and punctual in his business habits, plain and affable in his manners, with powers of mind which grasp, as it were, by intuition, every subject to which they are applied—united to various and extensive acquirements; we feel that we hazard nothing in the declaration that the measure of his fame is not yet full."



THOMAS MACDONOUGH. U.S.N.

T. Macdonough

THOMAS MACDONOUGH.

This gallant officer was born in the county of Newcastle, in the state of Delaware, in December, 1783. His father was a physician, but inspired with a love of liberty, he entered the army of the revolution as a major; he did not, however, remain long in the service, but returned to private life and his professional pursuits, until the close of the war, when he was made a judge, in which office he remained until his death, which happened in 1795. He left three sons. His eldest son, James, was a midshipman with Commodore Truxton when he took the Insurgent. In that battle he was so severely wounded, that there was a necessity of amputating his leg. He soon afterwards left the navy, with the reputation of a brave officer. In 1798, the subject of this memoir obtained a warrant as a midshipman, and commenced his career as a naval officer. Those who were acquainted with his early life, speak of Midshipman Macdonough as a young officer of great promise; but he had no opportunity of being made known to the public until the country had the misfortune of losing the frigate Philadelphia. When the gallant Decatur proposed to burn her, as she lay in possession of the enemy, he selected Macdonough as one of the young officers to accompany him on that hazardous expedition; and he reaped an early harvest of honor in that daring exploit, with his leader and others. The Mediterranean has been the birth place of more naval reputations than all the waters of the world beside, and it was there, too, that our infant navy displayed some of those acts of valor and good conduct which were of importance in themselves, and were hailed as presages of future glories for our country. When Macdonough was first lieutenant of the Siren, under command of Captain Smith, a circumstance occurred in the harbor of Gibraltar sufficiently indicative of the firmness and decision of his character. An American merchant brig came to anchor near the United States vessel. Macdonough, in the absence of Captain Smith, who had gone on shore, saw a boat from a British frigate board the

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brig and take from her a man; he instantly manned and armed his gig, and pursued the British boat, which he overtook, just as it reached the frigate, and without ceremony took the impressed man into his own boat. The frigate's boat was twice the force of his own; but the act was so bold as to astound the lieutenant who commanded the press-gang, and no resistance was offered. When the affair was made known to the British captain he came on board of the Siren in a great rage, and inquired how he dared to take a man from his boat. MACDONOUGH replied that the man was an American seaman, and was under the protection of the flag of the United States, and that it was his duty to protect him. The captain, with a volley of oaths, swore he would bring his frigate along side the Siren and sink her. "This you may do," said MACDONOUGH; "but while she swims the man you will not have." The English captain told MACDONOUGH that he was a young hair-brained fellow, and would repent of his rashness. "Supposing, sir," said he, "I had been in that boat, would you have dared to have committed such an act?" "I should have made the attempt, sir, at all hazards," was the reply. "What, sir!" said the English captain, "would you venture to interfere if I were to impress men from that brig?" "You have only to try it, sir," was the pithy answer. The English officer returned to his ship, manned his boat and made his way towards the brig; MACDONOUGH did the same; but there the affair ended,—the English boat took a circuitous route and returned to the ship. There was such a calmness in the conduct of Lieutenant MACDONOUGH, such a solemnity in his language, such a politeness in his manner, that the British officer saw that he had to deal with no ordinary man—and that it was not prudent to put him on his metal.

In that garden of the world, the shores of the Mediterranean, where nations have grown up and decayed, and others have taken their places; where every thing is marked with age, luxury, crime, and temptation, and where many a fine young officer has made shipwreck of his morals and his health; MACDONOUGH exhibited the Spartan firmness with the Christian virtues. His bravery was never for a moment doubted, but he was so reserved, temperate, and circumspect, that the envious, sometimes, strove to bring him to their level, and often were snares set for him; but he was never caught. His character was fair and bright as the surface of a steel mirror, before it was brought to reflect any ray of glory upon himself and his country.

There is a good share of sagacity in the common sailor; he sees

through a character much clearer than we generally think he does; before MACDONOUGH had been promoted to a lieutenancy, he had the heart of every sailor who knew him. There are few so ignorant that they cannot discover moral worth, when connected with professional ability; and none so bad, as not to approve of it.

It has often been stated, and never questioned, that while in Syracuse, that he was one night attacked by three assassins, with their daggers. He drew his sword, and wounded two of them so severely as to fear nothing further from them, the other fled, but he pursued him to the roof of a building, and climbing it after the assassin, would have caught him, if he had not thrown himself from it, with the loss of his existence. In the latter part of his life, MACDONOUGH suffered much from ill-health; but at this time he was one of the most active and athletic officers of the navy, and was dexterous in the use of his sword.

Not many of the ships of the American navy were in commission from the close of the Tripolitan war, until the war of 1812. Those few which visited the maritime places in Europe, South America, or the West Indies, were viewed with no ordinary curiosity, and even thought, by some, to have a respectable appearance; but there was not the slightest suspicion that we were so soon to take rank among those nations who boast of naval exploits. But after the declaration of war with England, our navy was put into requisition, and every officer panted for distinction. The elder officers were mostly sent on the ocean; some of the high spirited juniors to the lakes,—among the latter, Lieutenant MACDONOUGH was ordered to Lake Champlain. This was an important station, for through this lake a communication could most readily be had with the most powerful portion of the Canadas. The main armies of the British were always to be near Montreal and Quebec, but for the first two years of the war, both sides were busy in another direction, particularly on the Lakes Ontario and Erie. The contending powers watched each other's movements and kept nearly pari passu in the augmentation of their naval forces; the English always in the advance, having in many respects, greater facilities; if not in ship building, certainly in procuring munitions of war, sails, rigging, &c.

Towards the close of the summer of 1814, the warlike preparations on Lake Champlain, and its vicinity, seemed to portend some powerful shock. Large bodies of troops, the veterans of Wellington's army, to the amount, it was said, of sixteen thousand, had arrived in Canada, and were preparing to strike a severe blow on the frontiers,

one that would be felt to the very vitals of the nation. Izard received orders to assist Brown, and Macomb was left with a handful of troops at Plattsburgh. He put himself into the best attitude of defence a brave and intelligent officer could, and called on the neighboring militia to come to his aid; meanwhile the fleet under MACDONOUGH was put in readiness for an attack. He had only four ships, such as they were; the Saratoga, twenty-six guns; the Eagle, twenty guns; the Ticonderoga, seventeen guns, the Preble, seven guns; and ten gallies, carrying sixteen—in the whole eighty-six guns. The British force was larger: the frigate Confiance, thirty-nine guns; the Linnet, sixteen guns; the Chubb, eleven guns; the Finch, eleven guns; and thirteen gallies, carrying eighteen guns—making a total of ninety-five guns; a superiority over the American fleet of nine guns; their complement of men was much greater. That the American fleet was commanded by a young officer who ranked only a lieutenant, and the British by an experienced one, Captain Downie, gave Sir George Prevost no doubt of the issue of his naval operations. On the land, too, with his veterans and other troops, he was quite certain of a signal victory.

On the afternoon of the 10th of September, it was evident that the assault on the lake and on the land was to be made the next day, and MACDONOUGH deemed it best to await the attack at anchor. At eight o'clock, on the morning of the 11th, the British fleet was seen approaching, and in an hour the battle became general. The most accurate description of it must be from his own pen.

"At nine," says the captain, "the enemy anchored in a line ahead, at about three hundred yards distant from my line; his ship opposed to the Saratoga; his brig to the Eagle, Captain Robert Henley; his gallies, thirteen in number, to the schooner, sloop, and a division of our gallies; one of his sloops assisting their ship and brig; the other assisting their gallies: our remaining gallies were with the Saratoga and Eagle.

"In this situation, the whole force on both sides became engaged; the Saratoga suffering much from the heavy fire of the Confiance. I could perceive at the same time, however, that our fire was very destructive to her. The Ticonderoga, Lieutenant Commandant Cassin, gallantly sustained her full share of the action. At half past ten, the Eagle, not being able to bring her guns to bear, cut her cable, and anchored in a more eligible position, between my ship and the Ticonderoga, where she very much annoyed the enemy, but unfortunately leaving me much exposed to a galling fire from the enemy's brig.

"Our guns on the starboard side being nearly all dismounted, or unmanageable, a stern anchor was let go, the lower cable cut, and the ship winded with a fresh broadside on the enemy's ship, which soon after surrendered. Our broadside was then sprung to bear on the brig, which surrendered about fifteen minutes afterwards. The sloop which was opposed to the Eagle, had struck some time before, and drifted down the line. The sloop that was with their gallies had also struck. Three of their gallies are said to be sunk; the others pulled off. Our gallies were about obeying with alacrity the signal to follow them, when all the vessels were reported to me to be in a sinking state. It then became necessary to annul the signal to the gallies, and order their men to the pumps. I could only look at the enemy's gallies going off in a shattered condition, for there was not a mast in either squadron that could stand to make sail on. The lower rigging being nearly shot away, hung down as though it had just been placed over the mast heads.

"The Saratoga had fifty-five round shot in her hull; the Confiance one hundred and five. The enemy's shot passed principally just over our heads, as there were not twenty whole hammocks in the nettings, at the close of the action, which lasted without intermission two hours and twenty minutes.

"The absence and sickness of Lieutenant Raymond Perry left me without the assistance of that excellent officer. Much ought fairly to be attributed to him for his great care and attention in disciplining the ship's crew, as her first lieutenant. His place was filled by a gallant young officer, Lieutenant Peter Gamble; who, I regret to inform you, was killed early in the action."

The Saratoga was twice set on fire during the action, by hot shot from the Confiance; but the flames were promptly extinguished.

At the same time the land forces were engaged; both armies looking on the sea-fight as in a measure the turning point with them. The loss of the Americans was fifty-two killed, and fifty-eight wounded, that of the British, eighty-four killed, and one hundred and ten wounded. The prisoners taken exceeded the whole number of Americans in the action. Sir George and his army were the next day on the retreat. This victory was hailed by the whole nation with great joy. The state of New York, in justice and gratitude, gave the gallant commodore a thousand acres of land, of no small value, and the state of Vermont made a grant of two hundred acres, within a short distance of the battle ground; this is a delightful spot, and may be seen from the distant hills very distinctly, and from the manor you have

a fine view of the lake, particularly that part of it where the American fleet was anchored. While rambling over these grounds one cannot help thinking of the lines of the bard of Newstead Abbey,

> "The mountains look on Marathon,
> And Marathon looks on the sea."

Both scenes awaken visions of national glory; but our view, as yet, affords no painful contrasts, except, when we ask where is he who fought and conquered here? The city of New York gave MACDONOUGH a valuable lot of land, and the city of Albany followed the example. Festive honors were offered him in all places he chanced to pass through, but they were not often accepted. He loved fame, but not her obstreperous notes. For this victory he was promoted to the rank of post captain.

From the close of the war to the time of his decease, he shared the honors of the home and foreign service with his compeers. He was an excellent member of courts-martial, for he brought to those tribunals a candid mind, ever ready to find matters that made in favor of the accused as well as against him. We have an opportunity of speaking from an intimate acquaintance with the fact, that on several courts-martial, the accused have congratulated themselves, that all that was brought against them was to be considered by such a mind as MACDONOUGH'S; at the same time, they were not wanting in justice to other honorable members.

For several years before his death he made his home in Middletown, Connecticut, where he had married Miss Shaler, a lady of a highly respectable family in that place. He died of a consumption, on the tenth day of November, 1825. His wife had paid the debt of nature a few months before him.

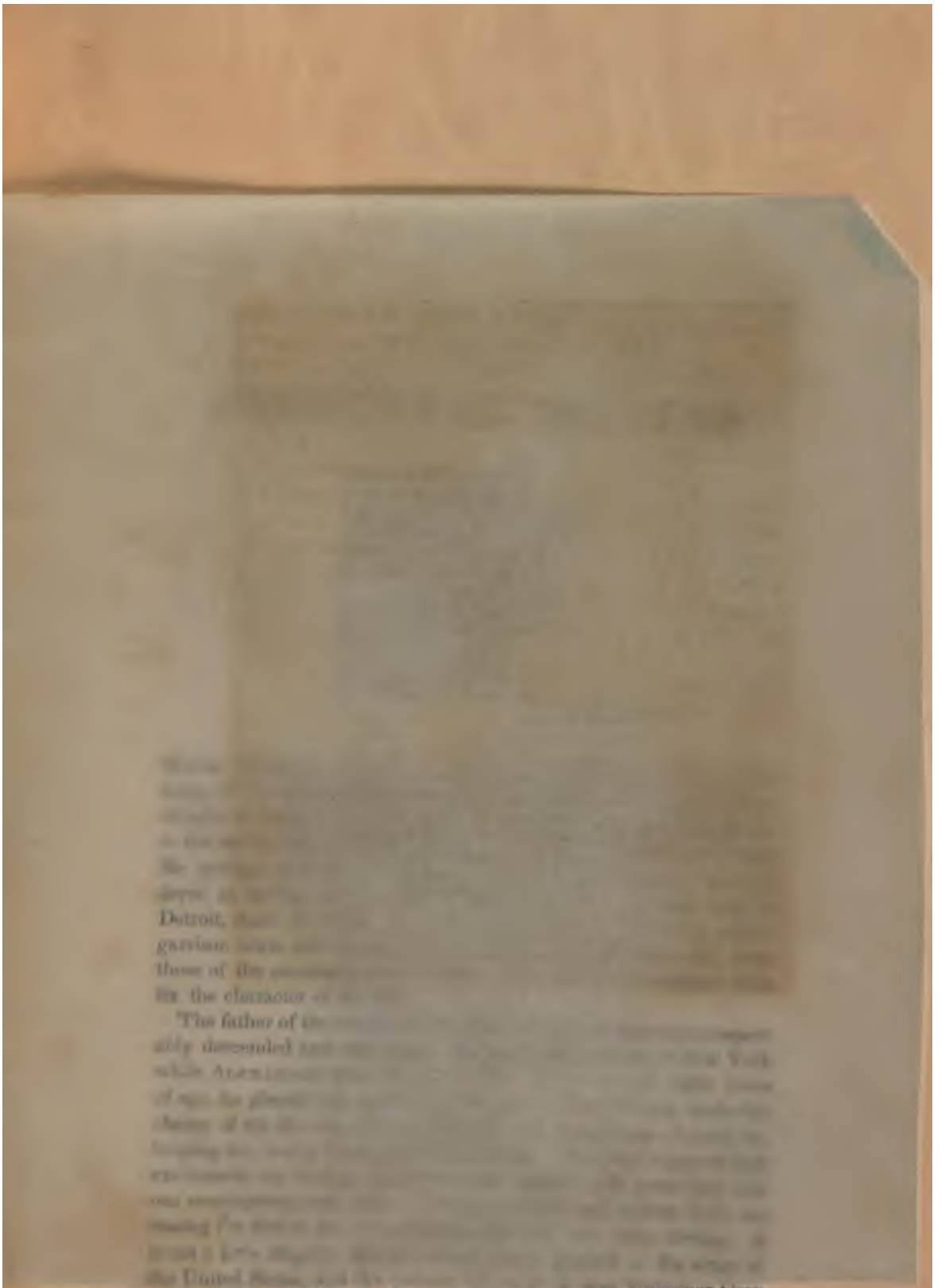
In person, MACDONOUGH was tall, dignified, and commanding. His features were pleasing; his complexion, hair, and eyes were light; but there was such a firmness and steadfastness in his look as to take away all appearance of the want of masculine energy, which is often attached to the idea of a delicate complexion. The great charm of his character was the refinement of his taste, the purity of his principles, and the sincerity of his religion; these give a perfume to his name, which the partial page of history seldom can retain for departed warriors, however brilliant their deeds.

Engraved by J.B.L. Longacre from a painting by T. Sully.

ALEXANDER MACOMB,

MAJOR GENERAL U. S. A.

A. Macomb



were, during the French revolution, officers of Lilliputian bands at

ALEXANDER MACOMB.

"For what of thrilling sympathy,
Did e'er in human bosom vie,
With that which stirs the soldier's breast,
When, high in god-like worth confest,
Some noble leader gives command,
To combat for his native land?
No; friendship's freely flowing tide,
The soul expanding; filial pride,
That hears with craving, fond desire,
The bearings of a gallant sire;
The yearnings of domestic bliss,—
E'en love itself, will yield to this."

JOANNA BAILLIE.

MAJOR GENERAL ALEXANDER MACOMB, now at the head of the army of the United States, is one of those men whom his country delights to honor; for he has served faithfully, and risen gradually in the army, and of course, is thoroughly acquainted with his duties. He, perhaps, more than any other man in our army, may be considered as having been a soldier from the cradle. He was born at Detroit, April 3d, 1782. The city of Detroit, at that time, was a garrison town, and among the first images that struck his eyes were those of the *circumstances* of war. These early impressions often fix the character of the man.

The father of the subject of this sketch was a fur merchant, respectably descended and connected. He removed to the city of New York while ALEXANDER was yet an infant. When he was eight years of age, he placed him at school at Newark, in New Jersey, under the charge of the Reverend Doctor Ogden, who was a man of mind, belonging to a family distinguished for talents. This was a time of high excitement, the French revolution was raging with great fury, and our countrymen took sides. In every enlightened nation, boys are among the first to take impressions, and these are often lasting. It is not a little singular that the present major general of the army of the United States, and the present secretary of war, Governor Cass, were, during the French revolution, officers of Lilliputian bands at

the seminaries in which they were educated: the one at Newark in New Jersey, and the other at Exeter academy in New Hampshire. It is not only that military fire is kindled in the hearts of youth, at such an age, but in such associations they learn much of that part of the art of war which depends upon ardor, quickness, and imitative power, rather than upon deep reasoning. Being acquainted with all possible forms in which men can be placed, and the time required for each movement; the officer in battle having all this elementary and practical knowledge at once in his mind, can compare, combine, and decide without hesitation. The deep interest boys take in these military exercises is beautifully described in an unpublished poem, found among the remains of that elegant classical scholar and poet, the late Nathaniel H. Carter, Esq., who was a member of the military corps at Exeter about eight or ten years after the present secretary of war had left the institution.

"And now the labors of the studious day,
Conclude, and give the evening hours to play,
At beat of drum with sword and armor sheen,
The mimic train-band form upon the green.
With snowy frock and trowsers fringed with red,
And blood-tipt feather nodding on his head,
The youthful soldier struts, and slaps with pride,
The jetty box, suspended at his side;
While o'er him waves the motto'd flag of stars,
Which join in friendship MERCURY and MARS.
Meantime the captain, of his station proud,
Unsheaths his sword, and gives the word aloud;
Along the line with gait majestic walks,
And much of discipline, and order talks;
Observes the rogue, and sternly reprimands,
Who turns his head, or disobeys commands;
Then calls subalterns to the grave debate,
And tells of tactics, us'd in ev'ry state,
Explains what code the English corps adopts,
And which the mighty power of Gallia props.
Proud was this CHIEF of BOYS, and happier far,
Than Europe's scourge, and thunder-bolt of war,
Who terror struck to prostrate prince and throne,
In every clime from Wolga to the Rhone,
Reign'd haughtiest monarch of the world a while,
Then sunk the tenant of a little isle."

In 1798, while MACOMB was quite a youth, he was elected into a select company, which was called "The New York Rangers." The name was taken from that Spartan band of rangers, selected from the provincials, who from 1755 to 1763, were the élite of every

British commander on lake George, and the borders of Canada. At the time he entered the corps of New York Rangers, congress had passed a law receiving volunteers for the defence of the country, as invasion by a French army was soon expected. This patrictic band volunteered their services to government, which were accepted, but he soon left this corps, and obtained a cornetcy at the close of the year 1798, and was commissioned in January, 1799. General North, then adjutant general of the northern army, soon saw the merits of the youthful soldier, and took him into his staff, as deputy adjutant general. Under such a master as the intelligent and accomplished North, MACOMB made great progress in his profession, and in the affections of his brother officers of the army. The young officer that Hamilton noticed, and North instructed, would not fail to be ambitious of distinction. He visited Montreal, in order to observe the discipline and tactics of the veteran corps kept at that important military post, and did not neglect his opportunities.

The thick and dark cloud that hung over the country, passed away,—a great part of the troops were disbanded, and most of the officers and men returned to private life; a few only were retained; among them was MACOMB, who was commissioned as a second lieutenant of dragoons, and sent forthwith on the recruiting service, but, it was not then necessary to push the business, and as he was stationed in Philadelphia, he had fine opportunities to associate with the best informed men of the city, and found easy access to the Franklin and other extensive libraries, of which advantages he did not fail to improve.

When his body of recruits was formed, he marched with it to the western frontiers to join General Wilkinson, an officer who had been left in service from the revolutionary war. In the company of Wilkinson (a man of talents and fascinating manners, notwithstanding his vanity,) and of Colonel Williams, the engineer, he must have gathered a mass of materials for future use. With him he went into the Cherokee country to aid in making a treaty with that nation. He was on this mission nearly a year, and kept a journal of every thing he saw or heard. This was a good school for one whose duty it might hereafter be to fight these very aborigines, and, in fact, these lessons of the wilderness are not lost on any one of mind and observation. The corps to which he belonged was disbanded, and a corps of engineers formed; to this he was attached as first lieutenant. He was now sent to West Point, where he was by the code there established, a pupil as well as an officer. Being examined and

declared competent, he was appointed an adjutant of the corps at that post, and discharged his duty with so much spirit and intelligence, that when the first court-martial, after his examination, was convened, he was appointed judge advocate. This court was ordered for the trial of a distinguished officer for disobeying an arbitrary order for cutting off the hair. Peter the Great could not carry such an order into execution, but our republican country did; and the veteran, Colonel Butler, was reprimanded for not throwing his white locks to the wind, when ordered so to do by his superior. The talents and arguments exhibited by MACOMB, as judge advocate on this court-martial, brought him into very great notice as a man of exalted intellect, as well as a fine soldier. He was now called upon to compile a treatise upon martial law, and the practice of courts-martial, which in a future day of leisure he effected, and his book is now the standard work upon courts-martial, for the army of the United States. In 1805, MACOMB was promoted to the rank of captain in the corps of engineers, and sent to the sea-board to superintend the fortifications which had been ordered by an act of congress. By this service he became known to the first men in the country, and his merits were duly appreciated from New Hampshire to the Floridas.

In 1808, he was promoted to the rank of major, and acted as superintendent of fortifications, until just before the war, when he was advanced to a lieutenant colonelcy. He was again detailed to act as judge advocate on a court-martial for the trial of General Wilkinson, who had called the court on Colonel Butler. He added to his reputation in this case. Wilkinson was his friend, but MACOMB discharged his duty with military exactness.

At the breaking out of the war of 1812, he left the seat of government, where he had discharged an arduous duty, in assisting to give form and regularity to the army, then just raised by order of congress. All sorts of confusion had prevailed, from the want of a uniform system of military tactics: he was fortunate in his exertions. When there was honorable war, he could not be satisfied to remain, as it were, a cabinet officer, and wear a sword only to advise what should be done, which seemed to be the regulations of the army in respect to engineers; he therefore solicited a command in the corps of artillery that was to be raised, and was gratified by a commission as colonel of the third regiment, dated July 6, 1812. The regiment was to consist of twenty companies of one hundred and eighteen each. It was, in fact, the command of a division, except in rank.

His reputation assisted in raising this body of men, and in November of that year he marched to the frontiers with his command. MACOMB and his troops spent the winter at Sackett's harbor. He contemplated an attack upon Kingston, but was defeated in his plan by the fears of some, and the jealousies of others;—but he soon distinguished himself at Niagara and fort George: at the same time Commodore Chauncey was endeavoring to bring the enemy's fleet to battle on lake Ontario. The next service performed by Colonel MACOMB was under General Wilkinson, and if the campaign was not successful, MACOMB was not chargeable with any portion of the failure.

In January, 1814, he was promoted to the rank of brigadier general; and was appointed to a command on the east side of lake Champlain. Nothing of importance in the history of General MACOMB transpired, although he was constantly on the alert in the discharge of his duties, until the coronal of his fame was won at the defence of Plattsburgh. This defence our limits will not permit us to describe with any minuteness, but suffice it to say, that in the summer of 1814, Sir George Prevost, governor general of the Canadas, had received a great augmentation of his regular forces, by detachments from the army which had fought in Spain and Portugal, under the Duke of Wellington. These were among the best troops in the world, and he now determined to strike a blow upon our frontiers that should be decisive of the war, and bring our nation to terms at once. His fleet, on lake Champlain, was considered superior to that of ours, and he was well informed that we had not there any army of consequence. Early in September he pushed on towards Plattsburgh, and met, for several days, with little opposition. His error was delay; but he wished to move safely, and saw nothing to prevent his progress. Previous to the 11th, there had been some smart skirmishing, in which the British found more courage and efficiency than they expected, from troops so hastily called out. Early on the 11th, the British gave battle by land and water—fifteen hundred of the regular army, and uncertain bodies of militia, made up MACOMB's army. The enemy was fourteen thousand strong. The battle was a decisive victory on the part of the American forces; Macdonough captured the British fleet, and Sir George returned to Canada the next night. The victory was as brilliant as unexpected. Honors were voted MACOMB in every part of the country. New York and Vermont were foremost in their tributes of respect. The president promoted him to the rank of major general, dating his

commission on the day of his victory. The event had a happy effect on the negotiations then going on at Ghent, and unquestionably paved the way for a treaty of peace. Whoever wishes to see a detail of this battle, should turn to the pages of an excellent memoir of the general from the pen of "George H. Richards, Esq., *a captain in* MACOMB'S *artillery, in the late war;*" but who has since left the service. This work comes warm from the bosom of friendship, but contains much beauty and accuracy of detail. We have read, we believe, all that has been written of the general; but acknowledge ourselves indebted to that memoir for many of the incidents in this life of General MACOMB.

After the close of the war he commanded at Detroit, his birth-place. He was received at this military post with distinguished honors; many remembered his person, and all had kept his reputation in view as reflecting honor upon the territory in which he was born. He continued at that post attentive to his duty, and devising liberal things for the people of that region, without confining his exertions to any particular portion of territory, until in 1821 he was called to Washington to take the office of chief of the engineer department. On the receipt of this information, he was addressed by all classes of the people of Detroit, in the most exalted language of friendship and regard. On repairing to Washington, he assumed the duties of the bureau he was called to, and discharged them to the satisfaction of the government, and the army. On the death of General Brown, commander-in-chief of the army, General MACOMB was nominated to that station. This nomination was confirmed by the senate, and although there were some difficulties in the way, about relative rank, General MACOMB was supported in his office not only by the president and the senate, but by the almost entire voice of the people. All matters, which at one time threatened discord and confusion, were happily surmounted, and harmony restored. He has remembered the advantages he received at West Point, and has constantly been the friend of that institution ever since. May he long live to be one of its guardians. Great commanders may arise in the exigencies of a nation, from the bosom of private life; but the regular hopes of the people for military men, must be founded on the provision made to educate youth in the art and science of war; and we must be prepared for war until the time arrives when *the sword shall be beaten into a plough-share, and the spear into a pruning hook.*

Drawn from life and Engraved by J.B.Longacre

JOEL R. POINSETT.

Joel R. Poinsett

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The distinguished subject of this memoir was born on the second of March, 1779. Immediately after the close of the revolutionary war, he was taken to England by his parents, and brought back to Charleston in 1788. He received the rudiments of his classical education in that city under Mr. Thomson, who was an excellent teacher. In 1793, he was sent by his father to be placed under the care and tuition of Dr. Dwight, and he remained at Greenfield Hill, in Connecticut, with this celebrated man for nearly two years, when the state of his health obliged his father to recall him to the milder climate of South Carolina. The year after, he was sent to England, where he remained at school at Wandsworth, near London, under the tuition of Mr. Roberts, brother of the principal of St. Paul's school. In all these different seminaries, he took an eminent station. At the age of eighteen, he left Mr. Roberts, the best classical scholar in the institution. Thence he proceeded to Edinburgh. In compliance with the wishes of his father, he matriculated in the college of that city, and attended the medical lectures. In this institution, under the most celebrated masters of the time in Europe, he laid the foundation of that general knowledge of the sciences, which he has pursued throughout life. He was interrupted in this course of study by indisposition; and by the advice of Dr. Gregory, who had manifested the kindest interest in him during his residence in Edinburgh, he went to Lisbon for the recovery of his health. He embarked in the stormy winter of 1798, and had a long and boisterous passage, being detained by contrary winds in the Bay of Biscay for four weeks. Such, however, was the beneficial effect of the sea air upon his constitution, that although, when he left Edinburgh, his friend and physician, Dr. Gregory, considered his case very doubtful, he entirely recovered his health before he landed in Lisbon. He remained the rest of that winter in Lisbon, and in the spring, went to Oporto, whence he embarked for England. Being convinced that his health would not permit him to follow any sedentary pursuit, he resolved

to direct his attention to the study of military tactics, with a view of engaging in the active life of a soldier. For this purpose, he placed himself under the tuition of Marquois, who had been a teacher in the military academy at Woolwich. Under this teacher, he studied the higher branches of mathematics, fortification, and gunnery; but in the following winter, his constitution again gave way under great application, in the rigorous climate of London, and he was obliged to seek a milder region. In the spring of 1800, he returned to Charleston; and a second time proved the beneficial effect of the sea air upon his constitution:—before he reached home, he was perfectly restored to health.

Finding his father extremely averse to his entering the army in time of peace, he entered the office of Mr. De Saussure, now chancellor of South Carolina, and began the study of law. Being desirous of completing his education by making the tour of Europe, he obtained the consent of his father to another voyage. In 1801, he embarked at Baltimore for Havre. He sojourned at Paris in the winter of 1801–2. In the summer he visited Switzerland; he made the tour of the Cantons on foot; and was present during the struggle which took place to reëstablish the old government of the Helvetic Confederacy, after the French troops were withdrawn, according to the stipulations of the peace of Amiens. When that struggle was terminated by the interference of France, he passed the Alps, and visited the principal cities of Italy. He made the tour of Sicily, visited Malta, and returned again through Italy to France. He remained a short time in Geneva, and passing again through Switzerland, took the road to Vienna by Bavaria. He passed some months at the Austrian court; but receiving while here the melancholy intelligence of the death of his father, he set out in the depth of winter, and travelled day and night to Rotterdam, whence he returned to the United States.

When he arrived in Charleston, he found his sister suffering under an incipient phthisis, and proceeded with her to New York, in the hope that the change of air might prove beneficial to her health. He was disappointed in this hope:—after lingering a few months, she expired in his arms. This melancholy bereavement, by which he lost his last surviving near relation, had a great effect upon the destinies and character of Mr. Poinsett. He soon after returned to Europe, and proceeded to visit the northern portions of that continent. At St. Petersburg he was received in the most distinguished manner by the Emperor Alexander, with whom he enjoyed frequent intercourse.

The emperor delighted to inform himself on the republican institutions of our country. On one occasion, when Mr. P. was speaking of the advantages enjoyed by the citizens of the United States, Alexander exclaimed, "Sir, you are right; and if I were not an emperor, I certainly would be a republican." He offered to retain Mr. P. in his service, and afforded him every facility in his tour through the European and Asiatic possessions of his vast empire. Mr. POINSETT, in consequence, visited Moscow and Kasan, and thence descended the Volga to Astrachan, where he was so much interested by the assemblage of people from every part of Asia, that he remained there three weeks, although the plague raged violently at the time in that place. He was compelled to perform, for several days, a quarantine on the opposite shore of the Volga; but the plague breaking out in the quarantine ground, he was permitted by the governor of Astrachan to proceed on his journey. Before he left this region, he visited the camps of the Calmuc Tartars, in the steppes, and passed some days in the tent of one of the priests, where he had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the worship of the Dalai Lama; as he had previously with that of Bramah, while in Astrachan, by passing a night in the quarter occupied by the natives of India. From Astrachan he proceeded along the shores of the Caspian Sea to Terki, the capital of the Lesghian Tartars. Here the Lehemkall, or chief, informed him, that the escort with which he had been furnished on leaving the Russian frontier (three hundred Cossacks) was not sufficient to protect him in his passage through that country: the chief advised him, besides, to return, or send away the escort, which was calculated to provoke hostility, and to confide in his hospitality, offering to convey him in safety to Derbent. He accepted this generous offer, and put himself under the protection of the Lehemkall. This enabled him to see and observe the manners and customs of this singular people. He arrived in safety at Derbent, the Portæ Caspiæ, and after a short stay there, proceeded with an escort on the road to Baku, in Persia. On this journey he was attacked, and he extricated his little party with some difficulty, retreating to the Cuban, in the Caucasian mountains, where he was kindly received by the khan, under whose protection he reached Baku in safety. In this neighborhood he visited the temple of fire, and saw the Guebres, from the banks of the Ganges, who come as pilgrims to this spot. From Baku he went to Schirvan, and after passing through Gangea, arrived at Teflis, in Georgia. Thence he went into Armenia, and was present at the unsuccessful siege of

Erivan by the Russian army. He returned to Teflis when the Russians withdrew from this place. Passing through the centre of the isthmus, between the Caspian and Black Sea, he returned to St. Petersburg, along the line of the Cuban to the Crimea, and thence through the Ukraine to Moscow and St. Petersburg. This route was through a sickly tract. Of the party of nine that accompanied Mr. P. from Moscow, only three survived; and he himself was so much affected by the climate, that he was compelled to go to Toeplitz for his health. In the course of his journey thither, he passed through Königsburg, where the Prussian court resided, and Berlin, which was at that time occupied by the French troops. He stopped a few days at Dresden, and visited the beautiful country called Saxon Switzerland. At Toeplitz, he met the celebrated *Prince de Ligne*, whom he had formerly known at Vienna. Having made a short stay here, he went to Carlsbad, and proceeded slowly on to Paris, where he resided some months. After the insult offered to our flag by the attack on the Chesapeake frigate, he considered a war between the United States and Great Britain to be inevitable, and thought it to be his duty to return home to offer his services to his country. He did so, and Mr. Madison expressed a desire to make him quartermaster general of the army—a branch of the service very defective at that time in the United States, and to which Mr. P. had paid particular attention;—to this, Mr. Eustis, who was at that time secretary of war, objected. Mr. P. thought he perceived on the part of the secretary an indisposition to receive him into the service, and he therefore agreed without hesitation to a proposal made to him from Mr. Madison, through Mr. Gallatin, to repair to South America, and ascertain the real condition of the South American people, and their prospects of success in the revolution just commenced. Accordingly he proceeded to Rio Janeiro, and thence to Buenos Ayres, where he was received by the governing junta with great distinction. After establishing friendly and commercial relations with Buenos Ayres, he crossed the continent to Chile. This became the theatre of the most extraordinary actions of his life, of which it would require more space than is allotted to these memoirs to give even a brief notice. He found the government in the hands of the Carreras, who gave him a most flattering welcome, and who, shortly after his arrival, declared Chile independent of Spain.

When the war with Great Britain broke out, he was anxious to return home; but no opportunity of doing so presented itself; and, subsequently, the British cruisers declared their intention to capture

him if they could. Captain Hillyer, of the Phœbe, refused him permission to return in the cartel, which was asked by Captain Porter, declaring, that he would not permit the arch-enemy of Great Britain, as he was pleased to term him, peaceably to return to the seat of the war.

While he was detained in Chile, the subject of declaring war against the United States was discussed in secret session of the Cortes in Spain, and the Spanish authorities in Peru proceeded to act as if war had taken place between the two countries. They captured and condemned several American vessels, and upon their invading Chile, they seized ten American whale ships in the port of Talcahuano. At the same time, Mr. POINSETT obtained the perusal of an intercepted letter from the governor of San Carlos de Chiloe, informing the viceroy of Lima, that an American vessel had put into that port for supplies; that he had seized it, and should send it on to Callao, as soon as a set of irons was completed, which was to secure the crew. Mr. POINSETT, indignant at the commission of these acts of hostility on the part of the Spanish authorities, accepted the command of a small force, which was offered to him by the government of Chile; with this he retook Talcahuano, and liberated the vessels detained there. The exploit was noticed in the Nantucket papers, and the National Intelligencer.

When the Essex, Captain Porter, arrived in Valparaiso, Mr. P. was frequently on board; and on one occasion, when she left the port in the expectation of encountering a British frigate, he sailed in her. The vessel they went out to meet proved to be a Portuguese frigate. The Essex returned into port, and Mr. P. had only an opportunity of seeing all the preparations for a naval combat. He was on board the Essex when the Phœbe and Cherub came into Valparaiso Bay, and had subsequently the melancholy satisfaction to witness the gallant defence made by Captain Porter, and his brave officers and crew, against a very superior force, under the most disadvantageous and discouraging circumstances.

After the capture of the Essex, Mr. POINSETT returned across the continent to Buenos Ayres, whence he sailed for Bahia, in a Portuguese brig, having escaped the British squadron by dropping down the river of Plate in an open boat. From Bahia he embarked in a fast sailing schooner for Madeira, where he heard of the peace with Great Britain; and after a short residence in this island, he returned to Charleston. Soon he was elected a member of the legislature of South Carolina; and having originated there a system of internal

improvement, in the execution of which he wished to coöperate, he refused to accept the appointment of commissioner to South America, tendered him by Mr. Monroe. While President of the South Carolina Board of Public Works, he superintended, along with Colonel Blanding, the construction of a road over the Saluda mountain, a spur of the blue ridge. This is generally admitted to be one of the best, if not the best mountain road in the United States, and is an enduring monument of Mr. POINSETT's public spirit and usefulness.

In 1821, he was elected member of congress for Charleston district, and had an important share in the debate on the recognition of the independence of Spanish America. In 1822, he was invited by the president to go to Mexico, in order to examine into the state of that country, and to report upon the expediency of instituting diplomatic relations with the Emperor Iturbide. He executed this delicate commission, and advised, for obvious reasons, that no relations should be formed with the Mexican imperial government, foretelling, with great accuracy, the period of its dissolution, and the overthrow of Iturbide. He was twice reëlected to congress, and took a very serviceable part in all the most important measures discussed in the house of representatives during that period.

When it was known in the United States that Iturbide had returned to Mexico, Mr. Monroe offered to Mr. POINSETT the mission to Mexico, urging his acceptance of it. From the peculiar relations in which Mr. POINSETT stood at that time with his party in Charleston, he was compelled to decline this appointment. Mr. Monroe afterwards renewed this offer; but Mr. POINSETT had defended Mr. Monroe's character when attacked in the house of representatives, and therefore refused to receive any appointment at his hands.

Although he had participated in the election contest in which Mr. John Quincy Adams succeeded, and had voted in favor of General Jackson, Mr. Adams proffered him the appointment of envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to Mexico, which he at length accepted. Shortly before he set out for his destination, the degree of doctor of laws was conferred upon him by Columbia college in New York; together with Mr. Calhoun and Mr. Elliott, of South Carolina.

His conduct while in Mexico in the discharge of his official duties there, has been a subject of much discussion and criticism; and it is to be regretted, that the brief nature of this memoir will not permit us to place it before the public in its true light. He never did interfere with the internal concerns of that country, except to prevent civil war; and that in one instance only, and with the knowledge

and consent of the government. His friends were chosen among the popular, or democratic party—the party now in power; the aristocracy and hierarchy attributed entirely to him the loss of their influence over the people,—which was the effect of the adoption of republican institutions, and a representative form of government. They hated him accordingly; believing that if they could get rid of him, they would recover the standing they had lost. The events subsequent to Mr. POINSETT's departure must have convinced them of their error, as they show conclusively, that the tranquillity of the country, and the contests between the patriots, were not affected by his presence. He was accused of being inimical to the views of the European Spaniards, whereas he constantly exerted himself to protect them from persecution, although he condemned their frequent interference in the politics of the republic. They never could be reconciled to the dominion of the Creoles.

We cannot refrain from introducing a remarkable incident which Mr. POINSETT narrated in his speech to the people of Charleston, to exemplify the power which our *Union* has to protect its citizens abroad.

The election of Gomez Pedraza to the presidentship of Mexico, was not acquiesced in by the people; and from discontent and murmurs they soon proceeded to open revolt. At night, they took possession of the artillery barracks, a large building, commonly called the *Accordada*, which is so situated at the termination of the main street, that a battery erected opposite to it commanded the palace. Near the Accordada is the *Alameda*, a public walk about three-quarters of a mile in circumference, and ornamented with noble trees. The action commenced here, after a vain attempt on the part of the government to negotiate with the people. The government forces were driven out of the Alameda, and batteries established higher up the street. The second day, the troops of the Accordada, commanded by Zavala and Lobato, advanced towards the centre of the city, in two columns—one by the main street, and the other by a street running parallel to it, on which Mr. POINSETT's house was situated. In order to check the advance of these columns, the government troops were posted in the towers and steeples of the convents and churches, and traverses mounted with cannon were constructed across the streets. One of these works was situated about three hundred yards from Mr. POINSETT's house, and immediately under the tower of a convent on which men were stationed. After several ineffectual attempts had been made to carry this work by an attack of infantry in front, suddenly a squadron of cavalry, that had

succeeded in turning the flank of the battery, which was unprotected, came thundering upon the artillery and sabred the men at their guns. The soldiers on the tower, who for a time were afraid to use their arms, lest they should kill their comrades, at length poured down an effective fire upon the cavalry. Several fell; some dashed down the street, and others threw themselves off their horses and took refuge under the eaves of the very tower whence this destructive fire had proceeded. The horses, whose riders had been killed, ran about wild with terror; but those of the dismounted cavaliers instinctively leant up against the wall of the tower as closely as their riders did, and both escaped the shots from above. When the cannon of this battery was silenced, the troops were soon driven from the convent. The convent of Saint Augustine, situated in the rear of Mr. Poinsett's house, was the last to yield to the besiegers. While the firing was going on at this post, Madame Yturrigaray, widow of the former viceroy of Mexico, who lived in the adjoining house, rushed into her balcony, almost frantic with fear, and implored Mr. Poinsett to protect her house. While he was giving her assurances of protection, and trying to calm her fears, a shot was fired at him from the roof of the convent opposite his house. The ball passed through his cloak and buried itself in the shutter of the balcony window. He retired within the house, and shortly after the besiegers were heard advancing. They were composed of the common people of the city, and the peasants of the neighboring villages, mingled with the civic guard of Mexico, and deserters from different regiments. The tramp of armed men and the hum of voices alone indicated their approach; but when they reached the house, there arose one wild shout, and a desperate rush was made to burst open the door. The massive gates resisted the utmost efforts of the crowd. A cry arose to fire into the windows, to bring up cannon, to drive in the door; and bitter imprecations were uttered against the owner of the house for sheltering their enemies, the European Spaniards, many of whom had sought an asylum in Mr. Poinsett's house. At this moment, Mr. Poinsett directed Mr. Mason, the secretary of the American legation, to throw out the flag of the United States. This was gallantly done, and they both stood on the balcony beneath its waving folds. The shouts were hushed; the soldiers slowly dropped the muzzles of their guns, which were levelled at the balcony and windows.

Mr. Poinsett seized this opportunity to tell them who he was, and what flag waved over him, and to claim security for all who were under its protection. Perceiving that the crowd was awed and

began to consult together, he retired from the balcony to despatch his servant with a note to the commander of the besieging army. The servant returned, and reported that the press was so great that the porter was afraid to open the door lest the crowd should rush in. Mr. POINSETT instantly resolved to go down himself and have the door opened. As he descended the stairs he was joined by Mr. Mason. They proceeded together across the court yard to the door which the porter was ordered to open. As they stepped over the threshold, the dense crowd which filled the street, rolled back like a wave of the ocean. The servant, who was a Mexican, mingled with them, and before the people recovered from their astonishment the two gentlemen returned into the court yard and the door was closed by the porter. Before they reached the front of the house, they heard the rapid advance of a body of cavalry. It was commanded by a friend of the legation. The gates were thrown open, the horsemen rode into the court yard, their commander stationed sentinels before the door, and Mr. POINSETT had the satisfaction to redeem his promise of protection to Madam Yturrigaray. Her house was respected amidst the wildest disorder, and those who had sought an asylum under the flag of the United States, remained in perfect safety until tranquillity was restored. The house was a quadrangle, and the court yard shut in by a *porte cochère*. The people before the door were, many of them, loaded with plunder from the houses and shops into which they had broken.

Mr. POINSETT was accused of originating masonry in Mexico:—its rites existed there long before his visits. All that he did, was to send for charters from the grand lodge of New York, at the request of the officers of the five lodges which existed in the capital; a request urged by several of the highest functionaries of the government. He explained all these circumstances to the public, in his able reply to the accusations made against him by the legislatures of Vera Cruz and Mexico; and, subsequently, in answer to a British pamphlet, published in London. These answers were generally considered as a triumphant refutation of all the charges preferred against him.

After undergoing in Mexico a persecution of eighteen months, during which period his life was considered in danger, he was recalled by General Jackson, who, in his next annual message, mentioned him in a complimentary manner. During his residence in Mexico, he negotiated a treaty of limits, and one of commerce, which, from a prejudice that existed in the bosoms of some of the

senators against him, were not ratified, until some time after his departure. Those Americans who belonged to the legation at Mexico, or who resided there with different objects, understood his position and conduct, and vindicated and admired his course.

So prominent a politician and zealous a patriot as Mr. POINSETT, could not fail to exert and distinguish himself in the important public questions which were raised in South Carolina since his return. He sided with the Union party, as opposed to the advocates of nullification. It is not within our province or design to pronounce judgment upon the merits of parties, or the comparative soundness of their opinions and measures; but we may say of Mr. POINSETT, what we presume his political adversaries will admit,—that he was an honorable, as well as an able and intrepid leader—that he is firmly attached to the constitution of the United States, and would have sacrificed his life in its defence. His efforts to organize the Union party; the speeches which he delivered; the addresses and essays which he wrote, in furtherance of its objects; and the determination which he manifested for himself, and fostered in others, will render his name most creditably conspicuous in the annals of a memorable contest.

The proficiency of Mr. POINSETT in scientific and literary studies is considerable. When abroad, he constantly gave attention to objects of natural history, and made collections with which he enriched our principal cities, especially Philadelphia, New York, and Charleston. His published volume of *Notes on Mexico;* his excellent articles in Quarterly Reviews; his printed essays and memoirs as a geographer and traveller; his various replies to calumnies and misapprehensions of his conduct; have acquired for him a well-merited literary reputation. As a legislator, he was truly substantive and exemplary, from the extent and variety of his practical information and talents; his superior aptitude and habits as a man of business; and his instructive, compendious sense, and gentlemanly discipline in debate. He is a clear, concise, energetic public speaker. Few men of his age have seen more of the world, and with so much intellectual profit: few have displayed equal enterprise, courage, equanimity, and perseverance. The regulation of his temper, and the simplicity of his courteous manners, correspond to the strength and culture of his reason. His country, which he passionately loves, may yet gain much from the activity of his zeal, and the uncommon diversity of his powers, attainments, and experience.

JOSIAH STORRARD JOHNSTON.

J. J. Johnston

JOSEPH E. JOHNSTON.

JOSIAH S. JOHNSTON.

Josiah Stoddard Johnston, for many years the representative of the state of Louisiana in the senate of the United States, was a native of Connecticut. He was born on the 25th of November, 1784, at Salisbury, a town in the north-western corner of the state, pleasantly situated among the declivities of the Green mountains, and near the falls of the Housatonic river. He was the eldest son of Dr. John Johnston, a physician of eminence, who had married Miss Mary Stoddard, a young lady connected with the highly respectable family of the same name, long settled in that part of New England. When his son was about six years old, Dr. Johnston removed with his family to Kentucky, at that time not yet admitted into the Union, and still exposed to the hardships of a newly settled country, and the warlike incursions of the Indians. He selected as his place of residence the county of Mason, then just laid out, on the banks of the Ohio river, and at a plantation near the town of Washington, on which he first settled, he continued to live until his death, in 1831. His son was sent back to Connecticut when about twelve years of age, and remained there, at school, for some time. He acquired an excellent education, the evidence of which appears in the strength, clearness, and simplicity of his style, as a writer and public speaker, and was displayed through life in his conversation, and in his fondness for literary pursuits. After his return to Kentucky, he was graduated at Transylvania university, then lately founded at Lexington, and soon after commenced the study of the law with Mr. Nicholas, a leading member of the bar. He entered on the practice of the law in Mason county, but after a short time passed there, he resolved to try his fortunes on the new and wide theatre which was opening for ambition and enterprise, in the south-western portion of the Union.

In the early part of the year 1805, Mr. Johnston repaired to Natchez, and remained a short time, with a view to select that spot which should appear most desirable as his future residence. Lou-

isiana, lately obtained from the French, was still under a territorial government, and except along the borders of the Mississippi, but very thinly inhabited and very little known. In the interior, a few forts originally established by the French colonists on the principal streams, had led to the rise of small villages; but these were remote from each other, and the intermediate country was in the possession of the Indians, or the first settlers, who had here and there taken possession of spots which seemed to promise more than usual advantage, either from their situation or the excellence of the soil. He chose the country through which the Red river passes, one that he foresaw was destined to increase rapidly in population and wealth; and, after a short visit to Natchitoches, ultimately fixed himself at Alexandria, a town in the parish Rapides, the site of an old Indian village. This continued to be the place of his permanent residence until his death, a period of nearly thirty years.

When Mr. JOHNSTON arrived at Alexandria, he found himself in the midst of a country, rich indeed in all that nature could bestow of fertility of soil and resources for prosperity and wealth, but thinly inhabited, far from the comforts and advantages of regions longer known, with few of the useful restraints which laws and population impose, and peopled by men who sought rapidly to increase their fortunes, or who preferred the life of adventure held out to them, to the less exciting pursuits they had left. The rural occupiers of the territory had acquired very much the manners and habits of life that were displayed by the hunters; and a large portion of the French and Spanish colonists had grown up in those rude and lawless habits, which are natural on a frontier constantly liable to invasion by the savages. Under the former government they were far removed, not only from the restraints, but the protection of the laws, and they had become accustomed to maintain their social relations by reliance on their individual prowess, rather than by appeal or submission to the laws. The territorial government of the United States could have possessed but small authority in that remote and thinly peopled region, even had it been completely organized, and in peaceable progress; but instead of this, it had to encounter the insurrectionary movements which were made at that time in the Valley of the Mississippi; and it was, besides, in a state of very imperfect and inefficient organization. Among a population thus constituted, Mr. JOHNSTON, at the age of twenty-one, commenced the career of active life. He was the daily witness of affrays and personal contests—of the ebullitions of a rude and violent people; he was himself a man of much

personal courage, as well as of a manly and resolute spirit; yet he soon acquired among his neighbors a popularity and influence which he never lost. His firmness, discretion, and strict sense of justice preserved him, in those troublesome times, from unfortunate collisions which few escaped; and they afforded him a still more gratifying source of pleasure and pride, by making him, on innumerable occasions, the successful umpire and mediator in occurrences, which, without such friendly aid, might have led to unfortunate and fatal results.

Self-dependant, full of patriotic spirit, devoted to his profession, desirous of an independence, the result of his own exertions, and ambitious of an honorable fame, he devoted himself, with indefatigable industry, to his business as a lawyer, extending his range of practice far into the adjoining districts, and subjecting himself without hesitation to every personal inconvenience. When the first territorial legislature assembled at New Orleans, he was elected a delegate from the parish where he lived, and he continued to hold his seat there, until the admission of Louisiana into the Union, in the year 1812. During this period, he was regarded as one of the leading members of the assembly, useful from his industry and practical knowledge, and obtaining general confidence from his candid and honorable character.

As soon as the new government went into operation, he was appointed a judge of the district in which he resided, embracing the parish of Rapides, and several others adjoining it. When, however, Louisiana was invaded by the British, at the close of the war, he employed himself with his neighbors in raising a regiment of volunteers; he purchased with his own money a large quantity of arms and ammunition; and, being himself placed in command, hastened to New Orleans. The decisive and gallant victory of the 8th of January, 1815, had, however, occurred in the mean time, so that he was unable to participate in the glories of that action; but he was directed by General Jackson to superintend the removal of the wounded prisoners to the hospitals, a duty congenial to his kind disposition, which he performed with great promptness and skill. Shortly afterwards he returned to Alexandria, to resume his judicial functions, and these he continued to exercise until the year 1821, with increased respect and confidence on the part of his fellow citizens. At the close of the war he married a highly accomplished and amiable lady of Louisiana, since eminently distinguished in all the various scenes in which she has been placed, throughout her husband's long and successful public career. She was the daughter

of Dr. John Sibley, of Natchitoches, a gentleman for many years resident in that remote country, from whose observations upon it much useful scientific information has been derived, and who has represented its interests in several important situations with great ability.

In the year 1821, Mr. JOHNSTON was called upon to serve his fellow citizens on a broader field, by being elected a representative in the seventeenth congress of the United States. From that period until his death, his name is connected with the principal political events of the times, always preserving the same character of public usefulness and private excellence. He soon showed himself too able a supporter of the interests of his constituents, and too intelligent a statesman, to be overlooked by those whom he served. After his term as a representative expired, in the year 1823, he was elected to the senate of the United States, to supply the vacancy occasioned by the appointment of his friend, Mr. Brown, as minister to France. That term expiring, he was reëlected to the same place in the year 1825, and again in the year 1831, on the latter occasion being chosen by a legislature in which the majority were of a party opposed to himself, but among whom the integrity, ability, and patriotism for which he was distinguished, outweighed all political predilections. It is well known, that twice during this period it was the wish of his friends to offer him the nomination of governor of Louisiana, an office to which he might reasonably have aspired, with every chance of success; but he believed that his services could be more usefully rendered in the place he held, and where such was the case, no motive of personal ambition could have induced him voluntarily to change it.

While Mr. JOHNSTON was in congress, he took part in most of the important topics that occupied the attention of that body. For several years, he filled with great ability the place of chairman of the committee on commerce, and, as such, made a report on the state of our trade with the British colonies, abounding with very valuable information, and containing many important suggestions in regard to that interesting dispute. These he sustained in a speech, which, whatever opinion may be entertained of the general policy on this question contended for by himself and his political friends, must be admitted to present the subject in a striking point of view, and to embrace a statement of the historical facts connected with it, remarkably comprehensive and clear. To commercial subjects, indeed, he devoted much of his attention; his inquiries among

practical men were constant, and the results of them were daily noticed in the performance of his public duties. He extended them even beyond the ordinary topics which were brought to the consideration of the senate, and constantly occupied himself in investigations and reflections in regard to them, which, when occasion served, he endeavored to apply to purposes of practical utility. He cherished strongly the desire, also entertained by many of our statesmen, of introducing into the intercourse between nations, those rules which should protect the merchant amid the dangers of war, and preserve the social intercourse of mankind, and the peaceful and beneficial arts, from those dangers which should of right be attendant only on the designs and the contests of the hostile. "With regard," he remarks, in one of his speeches, "to the policy of mitigating the practice and laws of nations, in maritime war, and of establishing the same rules that have obtained in other wars—to except non-combatants and private property from its operations—there can be but one opinion here. Such a modification of the public law on the ocean, would deprive war of most of its destructive and unhappy consequences; would cause that, now permitted against regular commerce and private rights—producing disorders, violence, and crimes, ruinous to one class by making them a prey to the needy and desperate adventurers who rob and plunder by commission, and demoralizing in its influence on all—to cease to disgrace the code of civilized nations; and this object is worthy the profound attention of this government, and of the enlightened age in which we live." In pursuance of these just and benevolent views, he strongly urged the adoption of two principles, whenever it could be effected in our arrangements with foreign nations—that neutral vessels should protect the goods on board, to whomsoever they might belong, and that the articles not to be furnished by neutrals to the contending parties, should be limited to the smallest possible number of such as are of direct use, and essential in their operations. To effect these results, may be regarded as just objects of ambition to every American statesman.

Nearly allied with the subject of commerce, is that of finance; and to this the mind of Mr. JOHNSTON was admirably adapted. Perhaps to no branch of public affairs did he give so much of his attention, and whenever any subject connected with it came under the consideration of the senate, he brought to bear the resources of a memory remarkably well stored with facts, and a mind of great precision and clearness. He was for many years a member of the committee of

finance in the senate, and his sentiments and views on these subjects were always listened to with more than usual respect, even by those who entertained different opinions in regard to the constitutionality and expediency of some measures which he strenuously advocated.

The question of the tariff, of course, occupied much of his attention, not merely as a representative of Louisiana, deeply interested in a question essentially affecting her interests, but as an American statesman, always regarding anxiously those measures which had a direct or remote bearing on the vital principles of the government of his country. Representing in the senate a state whose interests in relation to protecting duties are more doubtful and more nicely balanced than those of any other in the Union, it was always his anxious wish, as he declared, to preserve the rights of one part without sacrificing those of the other. He strenuously maintained the right of congress to lay duties for revenue, for the protection of domestic industry, and as a measure of counteraction against foreign countries. He also repeatedly advocated the policy of extending the aid of the government to sustain our own establishments, until they acquired strength to stand without competition. He admitted the difficulty of compromising and reconciling, by legislation, all the conflicting interests of a nation, so extensive, so diversified in soil, climate, and productions, but held it, as he said, "to be the duty of a statesman, upon great questions of policy, to cast his feelings into the common stock—to look to his country, her constitution, her capacities, her wants, her interests—to act for all, as far as is compatible with the rights and interests peculiarly intrusted to his charge." Engaged himself entirely in the cultivation of cotton, this testimony in favor of a fair protection of American manufactures is more than usually strong, and its force is not a little increased by the liberality and entire freedom from every selfish motive, which distinguished him throughout his public career. But this was not the only result of his situation as a planter. His own experience enabled him to trace to its true cause the depression in the culture of cotton, which was attributed, by several of the Southern states, to the legislative measures he advocated. He has pointed out, with singular felicity and force, the inevitable effects of bringing into a market formerly supplied entirely by themselves, the abundant productions of a new soil, and an extensive territory, peculiarly well fitted for their growth and increase. Though not himself interested in the cultivation of sugar, he devoted to a subject extremely important to his state, constant research, attention, and study. He applied

himself to every source whence useful information could be obtained, and communicated it to his constituents at home. He watched faithfully in congress every suggestion or measure that could affect its prosperity, and his sentiments on this subject agreeing with his general theory of protection, he opposed, with zeal and skill, every measure likely to interfere with it. He has shown, with unusual ability, how closely it is connected with nearly every branch of domestic industry; and his speeches in congress, and occasional essays on this subject, are among the most successful works of the kind that have appeared, during a period fertile in such productions.

Entertaining these opinions in regard to protective policy, and maintaining as he always did, with unshaken firmness, the great principles of the constitution, it may be supposed he viewed with no favorable eye the novel doctrine of nullification, which, unfortunately, found advocates among some of the ablest statesmen of the South. Had he been convinced of the existence of the evil, he would still have indignantly opposed the measures resorted to for its remedy. No one had studied with more care the theory of the constitution, or watched more acutely the actual results, the practical interpretation, which had grown out of the experience of forty years. The political and constitutional history of America was his favorite study, and he delighted to trace back to their springs the various views developed in it, and the peculiarities of a system over whose preservation he anxiously watched. In a speech delivered by him on the celebrated resolution of Mr. Foote, he has introduced with great effect the results of his researches and reflections on this interesting topic. He has proved that the doctrine now promulgated has never met the approbation of any state of the Union, even in times of high excitement; and he has shown, that every precedent, cited or assumed, is wanting in those very points which have been relied on to sustain a theory fatal to our government, if its existence is to continue such as it was, when framed and handed down to us by our forefathers.

But the legislative services of Mr. JOHNSTON were not confined to questions of this general and absorbing nature. In the practical character of his mind, and in his personal activity, his constituents and the whole country had a guaranty never deceptive, that all measures of importance, public or private, were attentively watched and considered. The debates of the senate, during the whole period he was seated there, as well as the numerous useful measures, the

adoption of which he urged, facilitated, and not unfrequently secured, give ample evidence of this.

Unfortunately, however, for his country, not less than his friends, this life of beneficial service was destined to be abruptly terminated. He was in the habit of returning to Louisiana, after the close of the sessions of congress, and in the spring of 1833, made that journey, accompanied by his only child, a young man of seventeen. He was received at home with the welcome that always awaited him there; and public dinners were offered to him by his constituents and friends. Having occasion, however, to visit his plantation on the Red river, he first determined to seize the opportunity to proceed as far as Natchitoches, the residence of his father-in-law. For this purpose, he embarked on board of the Lioness, a small steamboat navigating the upper waters of the state. On the evening of the 18th of May, 1833, he and his son left the village of Alexandria. The captain of the vessel, with inexcusable negligence, had a considerable quantity of gunpowder in the hold, unknown to the passengers. About daylight the following morning, as the steamboat was passing the Rigolet Bon Dieu, an explosion took place, occasioned, as is supposed, by a candle taken by one of the sailors into the hold, where the gunpowder was. Three successive explosions, following each other with great rapidity, were heard at a considerable distance, and such was their force, that the fore cabin, the deck above the boiler, (which in the western steamboats is placed on the main deck forward, towards the bow of the vessel,) and the hold under the boiler, were all scattered in fragments over the water. Some of the passengers who were thrown out, saved themselves by seizing these fragments In about two minutes after the catastrophe, the hull of the boat sunk, leaving the ladies' cabin floating on the surface; and from this portion of the wreck several persons were rescued. Mr. JOHNSTON, who was lying in a lower berth, sunk with the boat; but his son, who was in the upper range, was thrown into the water at a considerable distance, and was ultimately rescued by the exertions of some persons, who, seeing him floating on the current, came in a boat from the shore. He was found to be much wounded and burned, but after a confinement of several weeks, regained his health, free from any permanent injury. The body of Mr. JOHNSTON, recovered from the waves, was interred at the cemetery opposite to the village of Alexandria, among the tears of those who regarded him as much with the warm attachment of private friends, as with the respect due to his public services and worth. The sudden termination of a valuable

life, attended with incidents so shocking, must, under any circumstances, have created no common sympathy. But it may be said with truth, that this feeling was displayed in a degree more than usual, in the present instance. Not merely among those who were united with the deceased by a community of political sentiment or personal relations—but among those who differed from him in the former, and who knew him only as a public man—were readily and warmly expressed sincere regrets at the loss which all had experienced. In the usual organs of public sentiment, this was strongly exhibited, and afforded a gratifying proof of the high place in general esteem which may be secured by a life of so much industry and purity.

The character of Mr. JOHNSTON, as a public man, may be gathered from the previous sketch of his life. It was that of one eminently practical, well-informed, useful, and straight-forward. He spared himself no personal or mental labor, in thoroughly understanding the subjects that came under his notice. He was industrious in attending to the various duties that were intrusted to him, and his fidelity to his constituents is best proved by his continued popularity amid the various changes of party. On the topics which more especially affected the prosperity and interests of the community he represented, his information was complete, and his opinions derived all the weight to which this circumstance entitled them. To ensure its accuracy, he omitted no pains. To promote what he believed a true policy, he spared no exertions. On the floor of the senate, and in the chambers of its committees, he was prompt, efficient, and attentive. He suffered no occasion to be lost, when his individual aid could promote the cause he desired to advocate. He took his stand decidedly in the political contests of the day, and on the exertions and steadiness of no one could his friends more firmly rely. But he did it with no selfish views. He was always free from the suspicion of private ends. However firm, he was not less disinterested; and he never sought, directly or indirectly, those objects of personal ambition, which it is hard for any one, moving in the scenes and contests of political life, not to desire. His principles were the result of his deliberate reflections, and throughout life were manfully avowed and consistently maintained. He did not aspire to the character of an orator, but what he said was never heard without attention, and always bore strong marks of the clearness and simplicity of his mind. If he had, in his active career, somewhat neglected those studies merely literary, in which, when young,

he had indulged himself, and to which, in moments of leisure, he always gladly returned, yet his speeches evince an excellent and cultivated taste, and his style is that of a well educated and well read man. To these qualities as a politician, should be added yet another—the kindness of his disposition and the mildness of his demeanor, which, while not interfering with his firmness and consistency, yet gave him an influence and personal consideration that he never lost, amid all the warm and exciting scenes in which he was called on to engage.

In his person, Mr. JOHNSTON was rather below the usual height, but his figure was graceful, and his countenance strikingly indicative of his calm and intelligent character. In his habits, he was social; fond of the amusements of society, and deriving constant enjoyment from an agreeable intercourse with the world. His manners were easy, prepossessing, and unaffected; his conversation, various and gay. There was a warmth and a singleness of purpose in what he said and did, which won the regards of all around. As a friend, they to whom he was attached will bear testimony, that no human being ever more faithfully cherished and performed the duties of that relation—no sacrifice of his time, of his active exertions, or of his fortune, was spared—and those who had a right to regard him as such, knew, absent or present, that he was never found wanting in readiness, fidelity, and zeal. With such dispositions it is hardly necessary to add, that in discharging his domestic duties, he was unsurpassed in excellence and purity. As a husband, a father, a brother, and a son, each successive year, and every situation of his life, seemed to afford him new occasions of displaying instances of exemplary conduct. What wonder, then, if a fate so sudden should be more than commonly deplored—if private sorrow should be deeply blended with the regret which was widely spread, where he was only known for his public services and worth. If there has lived a man to whom could be truly applied the eloquent and affectionate tribute, inscribed by the poet on the monument of his friend, it is the subject of this notice.

> Statesman, yet friend to truth! of soul sincere,
> In action faithful, and in honor clear!
> Who broke no promise, served no private end,
> Who sought no title, and who lost no friend;
> Ennobled by himself, by all approved,
> Praised, wept, and honored, by the friends he loved.

Engraved by T. Williams from a Drawing by J.H. Longacre.

EDWARD LIVINGSTON.

Edw Livingston

Entered according to Act of Congress in the year 1844 by Lewis H. Longacre in the Clerks Office of the District Court of the Eastern District of Pennsylvania.

EDWARD LIVINGSTON.

NOTHING is more becoming to a country, or affords better proof of the excellent spirit of its people, than to find the reward of popular praise and popular honors bestowed upon those, whose labors have been guided by a wise philanthropy, and whose objects have been the welfare and improvement of mankind. It is, therefore, a matter of just pride, that the subject of the present notice should be receiving from his countrymen, as age steals upon his active career of usefulness, fresh proofs of their confidence and respect.

EDWARD LIVINGSTON was born in the year 1764, at Clermont, (Livingston's manor,) Columbia county, New York. His education was commenced at Albany, and continued afterwards at a grammar school at Esopus, in Ulster county, which, on the destruction of that village in the year 1777, was removed to the neighboring village of Hurley. At this school he was prepared for the junior class of Princeton college, which he entered in 1779, and took his degrees two years afterwards. The period was the most unfortunate for the attainment of a classical or scientific education. Frequent incursions of the enemy drove the professors from their chairs. The spirit-stirring incidents of the time made the students more anxious to join the bands hastily summoned for defence, than to seek for the more modest honors of literature; and when, as happened on more than one occasion, they were permitted by their teachers to embody themselves in a little company, and march to meet the enemy, they returned with feelings little suited to the calm pursuits of a college. Their number rapidly became very small; the library was scattered; the philosophical apparatus was destroyed; and the college building itself was shared with a detachment of troops quartered in the town. Yet under all these disadvantages, some, at that period, laid the foundation of future celebrity. The class which graduated in the year 1781, consisted but of four young men, yet of these, three met twelve or thirteen years after, as members of the house of representatives of the United States; they were Mr. LIVINGSTON, Wil-

liam B. Giles, the late governor of Virginia, and Abraham Venables, who perished in the dreadful conflagration at Richmond. The former on leaving college, commenced the study of the law at Albany, under the direction of the late Chancellor Lansing, and was admitted to the bar in the year 1785.

From this period until 1794, Mr. LIVINGSTON was employed assiduously in the practice of the law. When, however, the constitution framed by the national convention was submitted to the people, he took a warm part in the question of its establishment, which was more zealously opposed in New York than in any other state. This circumstance, joined with his success at the bar, led to his election, in the year last mentioned, to represent the city of New York, and the counties of Queens and Richmond, in the fourth congress. The whole representation of the state consisted at that time of ten members.

The public career of Mr. LIVINGSTON during the succeeding six years, is embraced in the political history of his country. He was a distinguished and leading member of the republican party, maintaining an elevated position in congress, not less from his talents than from the liberal and candid spirit, the industry, zeal, and philanthropy which he displayed. A few days after he had taken his seat, he called the attention of the house to the existing provisions of the criminal code of the United States, and endeavored, though at that time without effect, to reform their sanguinary character, and adapt them more justly to the nature and quality of offences. He introduced, and after repeated efforts, carried, several laws for the protection and relief of American seamen left by accident or misfortune on foreign shores. He ardently promoted the establishment and gradual increase of the navy, and he supported the existing government, though opposed to its general policy, in every measure which was necessary to sustain the honor, or protect the rights of the country.

It was at the commencement of one of the sessions, during which Mr. LIVINGSTON sat in the house of representatives, that General Washington, in a speech to congress, referred to the occasion as the last on which he should meet them, and the address which it was proposed to make him in reply, contained some remarks, in allusion to this circumstance, which led to an animated debate. The vote of Mr. LIVINGSTON, on that occasion, was afterwards represented as evidence of hostility to General Washington; but he fortunately survived to refute the unworthy charge on the floor of the senate of the United States, with an eloquence worthy of the occasion, and

with a feeling natural to one who had grown up in admiration of that great man, and who had seen him in his hours of peril and triumph, with a heart filled with sentiments of sincere veneration. It was indeed shortly after this, while his votes, speeches, and conduct, were fresh in the recollection of his constituents, that his term of service expired, and he was reëlected by an increased majority. A man, entertaining the sentiments towards Washington, that were ascribed to him, would not have received the votes of a city, where his name was adored. If further evidence were necessary, it is found in what occurred a few years since. Mr. LIVINGSTON was selected, by the veteran relics of the revolutionary war, the chosen companions in arms of their venerated commander, the New-York Society of Cincinnati, as one of the very few honorary members on whom the distinction has been bestowed. The venerable remnant of the friends and companions of Washington, associated under his auspices for the purpose of cherishing the friendships contracted during the contest he so gloriously conducted, and watching over his fame, so inseparably connected with their own, would not have conferred that distinction on one, who had, at any period of his life, shown himself his enemy or detractor.

After the close of the session of Congress, in the spring of 1801, Mr. LIVINGSTON declined a reëlection, determined to devote himself exclusively to the practice of his profession, in the city of New York. He had not, however, long retired from public life, when he was appointed by the president to the honorable post of attorney of the United States for New York, and he was elected about the same time mayor of the city. This office, which he held upwards of two years, then required high judicial as well as executive talents. He devoted himself to its duties with the industry and zeal which have always marked his character, and he was called upon to add to these, the active exercise of those benevolent feelings by which he has ever been equally distinguished. In 1803, the city was afflicted by a desolating pestilence; many of the inhabitants fled in dismay, and death frightfully extended its ravages among those who remained. Mr. LIVINGSTON never for a moment deserted his post, but he sacrificed his own comforts, and fearlessly endangered his own life, in his unremitted cares to lessen the calamity that had befallen his fellow-citizens. He was at last attacked himself by the pestilence, and reduced to the point of death. On recovering from his illness, and resuming, as soon as he was able, that attention to his private concerns which he had been obliged to neglect, he found them greatly deranged; he

had been unable, particularly, to give the strict attention necessary to a proper scrutiny into the conduct of persons whom he had intrusted with the collection of debts, due to the United States, and he found himself suddenly and unjustly subjected to heavy responsibilities. Under these circumstances, he did not hesitate as to the course he was to pursue. He immediately resigned the offices which he held. He determined to remove to Louisiana, and there, succeeding in the great object for which he did so, he was, as he expected, enabled, by the arduous pursuit of his profession, to discharge the debt in which he had been involved, with interest to the last farthing. As soon as his difficulties and embarrassments became known to his fellow-citizens, and his intention to leave New York was declared, he received renewed testimonials of public respect. The venerable George Clinton, then governor of the state, addressed him a complimentary letter, expressing his regret; and the common council of New York unanimously presented him an address, which describes, in the most warm and affectionate language, their sense of his services and devotion, their high estimate of his abilities and integrity, their deep regret at his departure from among them, and their prayers for his prosperity and happiness.

In February, 1804, Mr. Livingston arrived at New Orleans, Louisiana, having then been lately transferred to the United States, pursuant to the treaty negotiated by his brother, Chancellor Livingston. Soon after his arrival, he was called on by some of the principal inhabitants to prepare a memorial to congress, stating their dissatisfaction at being kept in what they considered a state of vassalage, under the first degree of territorial government, instead of being admitted into the union, as the treaty provided they should be, on the footing of an independent state. This paper attracted much attention at the time, though it did not produce the effect which was desired. After Mr. Livingston had resided some years at New Orleans, his fortune was injured by a controversy, which has become well known, from the important principles it involved, and the ability with which they were discussed. Mr. Jefferson, then president of the United States, deceived by misrepresentations of fact, and entertaining a most erroneous opinion of his official powers, committed a violent invasion on the private property of Mr. Livingston, which produced the Batture question, the controversy alluded to. This deprived him of an immense property, the result of his professional labors, and involved him for many years in most expensive litigation. The merits of the subject have been long before the public, in a pam-

phlet of Mr. Jefferson, and the answer of Mr. LIVINGSTON, which last was truly termed an answer to which no reply could be made. None was made. The legal decision was in his favor, and the controversy ended honorably to both parties;—to Mr. LIVINGSTON, in his forgiveness of the injury; to his distinguished adversary, in the more difficult, and more meritorious task, if the maxim be true, of forgiving the man he had injured.

Mr. LIVINGSTON pursued his professional duties without interruption, until the invasion of Louisiana by the British. As soon as he learned that General Jackson was appointed to the military command of the district, he wrote to him and offered his services as an aid, or in any other capacity in which they might be considered useful. His offer was accepted, and as soon as the general arrived at New Orleans, he joined his family, and continued with him during the short but glorious campaign. During this eventful period, he was employed on several important missions, and enjoyed the confidence of the general. At the close of the war he received from him the most flattering testimonials of that regard which has since been more signally evinced. When, shortly afterwards, the well known arrest of General Jackson occurred, and he appeared before the court to account, or atone for breaches of the municipal laws, which, necessity had obliged him to commit, for the preservation of the country; his written defence, remarkable for the eloquence and simplicity of its style, and for the clear and vigorous view of the circumstances and the law which it presents, was prepared and submitted by Mr. LIVINGSTON, who acted as his counsel on the occasion.

But the services of Mr. LIVINGSTON to his adopted state were destined to be of a character even more important and enduring, than a participation in the gallant military exploits by which she was defended and saved. When he first arrived there, he had found the jurisprudence of the province in a state of extreme confusion. Judges from the United States, were appointed to administer laws written in a language they did not understand, and according to forms of which they were entirely ignorant. The legislative power was incompetent to provide a remedy, and even had it been, it was entrusted to men, who, though highly respectable, were unused to such duties. It soon became essential, therefore, that, although the body of laws could not be at once changed, a mode of procedure under them should be established. Mr. LIVINGSTON, and Mr. James Brown, since well known as a senator from Louisiana, and an able representative of the United States to France, were requested to perform this duty.

Discarding alike the fictions and technicalities of the common law, and the prolixity of the Spanish code, they prepared a simple, cheap, expeditious, and intelligible mode of conducting suits. An attempt was made to defeat it, which was chiefly sustained by those members of the bar, who had become accustomed to the modes of legal practice in other states. They endeavored, by taking advantage of an equivocal expression in the ordinance, organizing the government of the new territory, to establish the system prescribed by the English common law. Their attempt was successfully resisted by Mr. LIVINGSTON and Mr. Brown, though manifestly against their own interest. They saw that the tranquillity of the country would have been endangered, by imposing on the people, a law at once so complex and so different from that under which they had lived. The legislative council adopted their views, their system of procedure was introduced, and it has ever since stood the test of experience.

The system of municipal law which had continued in use, since the cession of the province, consisted for the most part, of a digest chiefly compiled from the Napoleon code, but it was found to want so much amendment, that in the year 1820 the legislature determined on its complete revision, and appointed Mr. LIVINGSTON, and Mr. Derbigny, and Mr. Moreau, a commission to execute it. This was a laborious task, and too little time was allowed for its execution. It was, however, completed in 1823, and submitted to the legislature, by whom it was adopted, with the exception of the commercial code, to some of the provisions of which, opposition was made. In this arduous duty, the well known industry of Mr. LIVINGSTON gives assurance that he took his full share, and the whole title of "obligations" is said to be exclusively his. He was, however, at the same period, engaged in a work of at least equal importance, with which he was solely charged. Having, a few years before, introduced into the state legislature, of which he was a member, a bill for preparing a system of penal law for the state, he was himself elected by that body, in 1821, to perform this arduous and responsible duty. The following year he presented a report, containing a plan of a penal code, and specimens of its execution. These were unanimously approved, and he was earnestly requested to finish it. Thus encouraged, he devoted himself to the task, and as early as the autumn of 1824, notwithstanding his very extensive professional engagements, and the share he took in the labor of preparing the civil code, he had ready for the press, the whole system of penal law. It consisted of a code of crimes and punishments, a code of criminal procedure, a

code of evidence, a code of reform and prison discipline, and a book of definitions, together with introductory reports to each, pointing out the changes made in existing laws, the new enactments proposed, and the principles and reasons on which they were founded. Having received authority to print it, for submission to the legislature, he had caused a fair copy to be made. Before it was delivered to the printer, anxious that no errors might remain in it, he passed a great part of the night, in comparing it himself with the original draught. He went to bed at a late hour, with the pleasing reflection of having finished a most laborious task. Not long afterwards he was awakened by a cry of fire, which was found to proceed from the room where his papers had been left. They were all consumed. Not a note or memorandum was saved. Though stunned at first by the sudden misfortune, his equanimity and industry soon led him to repair it. Before the close of the same day, he quietly commenced the task of re-composition; and, in two years afterwards, he presented his work to the legislature of Louisiana, in a shape more perfect than that in which it originally was. It has not yet been acted upon by that body, but the philanthropist and the jurist must look with equal anxiety and interest to its adoption. The beauty of its arrangement, the wisdom of its provisions, the simplicity of its forms, and the clearness of its language, equal, but do not surpass, the philanthropy, the wise views of human character, the knowledge of social intercourse, and the insight into the sources of happiness and misery, by all of which it is distinguished, far beyond any similar system of criminal law, that has emanated from the jurists of any age or country. To those who have made penal jurisprudence their study, and who have examined and reflected on, not merely the codes, but the admirable introductory reports by which they are preceded, this praise will not appear exaggerated. Whatever may be the fame of Mr. Livingston, as a statesman or an advocate, whatever reputation his patriotic and his professional exertions may gain for him, among his own countrymen, this great work will secure to him enduring honor, wherever the cause of philanthropy is cherished, and wherever men exist who love and admire just and simple laws.

More than twenty years had now elapsed since Mr. Livingston had deserted the scenes of political life. He had arrived at an age when most men are desirous to leave it altogether; but being chosen by the people of Louisiana to represent them in congress, he again took his seat in that body in the month of December, 1823. He no longer desired to assume the active position he had formerly held.

He was a less frequent speaker; but he nevertheless originated several important measures, and engaged in the debates on many that were brought forward by others.

In 1829, he was elected by the legislature of Louisiana to represent the state in the senate of the United States, and he there introduced and carried several measures of extensive and permanent benefit to his country. On all questions of general policy; on all such as related to the exercise of constitutional powers, or to the development of great principles of legislation, he was listened to with the confidence and respect which were yielded, not less to his well established abilities and extensive knowledge, than to the simplicity, the dignity, and the patriotism that marked his character and actions. His speech on the celebrated resolution of Mr. Foote, relative to the public lands, is certainly among the most eloquent and able that were delivered on that occasion; and it is peculiarly interesting, from the view it presents of the principles on which the great party distinctions of the people of the United States were originally founded; of the comparative powers and duties of the different branches of the government; and especially of the relations, which, by the constitution, ought to exist between the government and the states. The views he adopted were shown to be those, which, from the earliest periods of the government, had been acted upon and supported by his political friends.

In the spring of 1831, Mr. LIVINGSTON was called by the president to fill the honorable post of secretary of state. His course there is of too recent a date, and his duties were necessarily of a character too confidential, to be perfectly known, or to be publicly discussed if they were known. We believe, however, that it may be said, with propriety and truth, that the offer of the first place in his cabinet, when made by General Jackson to Mr. LIVINGSTON, was as unexpected as it was unsolicited; and that he hesitated for some time before he accepted it. With the modesty and unaffected diffidence which are striking traits of his character, he distrusted his ability to perform the duties of the office, and in comparing his own talents with those of some of the distinguished men who had preceded him, in the same station, he was for a while inclined to doubt the wisdom of embarking in the same career. Such, however, was not the sentiment of his fellow-citizens. Their anticipations of his course were the reverse of his own, and they proved to be more just. No act of the president was hailed with more satisfaction by the country, none has been attended with more advantage to its prosperity, its interests,

and its fame. All the public documents from the pen of Mr. LIVINGSTON, having reference to the foreign relations of the United States, present a clear view of those interesting concerns. The instructions under which the treaty with Naples was formed, have been already published by order of congress, and in their energetic tenor and unanswerable reasoning are found prominent causes for the success of the negotiations with that government, and for the conclusion of the treaty by which the claims of our merchants were so amply recognized. While he remained in the department of state, instructions were given to our ministers at London, Paris, St. Petersburg, Lisbon, the Hague, Mexico, and the South American states, on all the important points of discussion between those governments and our own; and when these documents shall be made public, it will no doubt be found, that in clear language, in political wisdom, and in enlightened spirit, they will redound as much to the honor of the administration to which they belong, as any of the various state papers of which the American people are so justly proud. Just before Mr. LIVINGSTON left the department, he negotiated and signed a treaty with the minister of Belgium, and he exchanged with the minister of Russia, the ratification of another previously made, under his instructions, at St. Petersburg. In all these negotiations, he is understood to have been particularly anxious to introduce stipulations which will ameliorate the intercourse between nations, in a degree corresponding with the improvement of the times; to extend, advantageously, our commerce with remote nations; and to obtain new fields for American enterprise, the results of which will be found highly beneficial when they are more fully developed and known. In the same spirit which governed him in these negotiations, were his reports made to congress on our diplomatic establishments, and on the regulation of our consulates abroad; all containing recommendations eminently deserving attentive consideration, and calculated to contribute not less to our interests, than our national honor. In those measures of the government, which belonged less to a particular department, than to the general policy of the administration, the abilities and experience of Mr. LIVINGSTON could not fail to render him an able counsellor, and secure for him unlimited respect and confidence. When the president adopted the resolute and patriotic course of issuing his proclamation relative to the proceedings of South Carolina, it is well understood that he met with the undivided assent of his cabinet; if, therefore, public opinion has assigned to Mr. LIVINGSTON, more than his share in that measure, it has

probably been guided by the similarity of the views, taken on this occasion, with those declared by him in his remarks in the senate, on the resolution of Mr. Foote, to which we have already referred; or perhaps to the well known fact, that his sentiments coincide entirely with the doctrines so admirably expressed in that celebrated instrument.

On the reëlection of General Jackson, in 1833, Mr. LIVINGSTON retired from the department of state, and accepted the honorable but less laborious office, which was tendered to him by the president, of minister to France—an office in which his brother, Chancellor Livingston, had previously acquired a distinguished reputation; and which he probably accepted with more gratification from this circumstance, as well as from having unexpectedly received about the same time, the highest testimonials of respect and honor, from the most distinguished literary and scientific institutions of that country.

On the private character of Mr. LIVINGSTON, we have not space to dwell. The nature of his public course evinces its benevolence and modesty; nor do his writings display in their admirable simplicity, in the beauty of their language, and in their classical taste, more of the accomplishments of a scholar, than, in the purity of their precepts and their anxious search for truth, they exhibit a heart filled with the best emotions, and animated with strong desires for the happiness and improvement of mankind.

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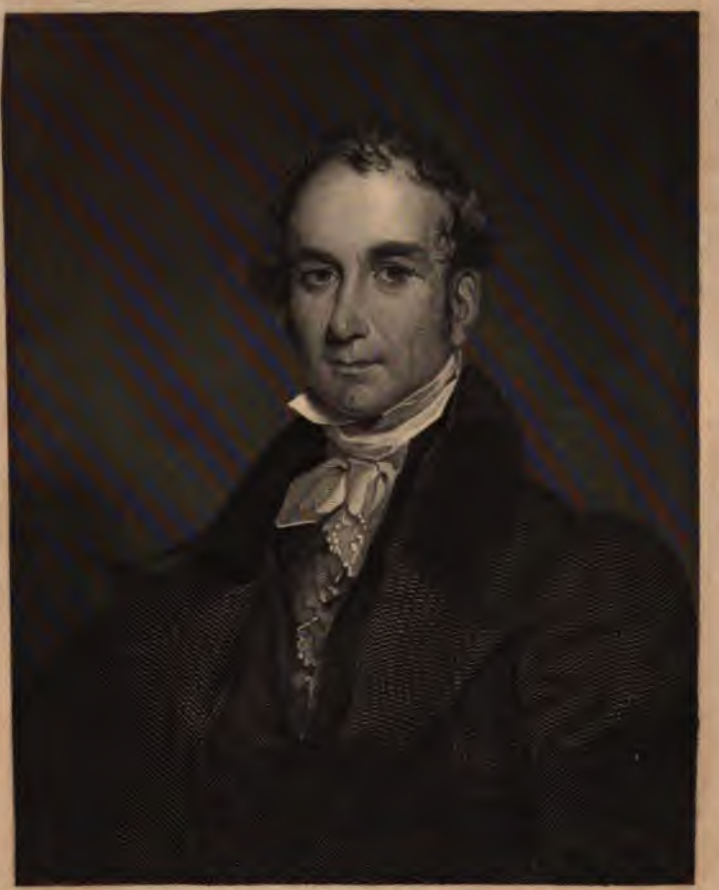

Engraved by T. Kelly from a painting by G. S. Newton.

LOUIS M'LANE.

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The regard and confidence of that eminent jurist and statesman were gradually won and cemented by the talents and assiduity of

Louis M'Lane

LOUIS McLANE.

Honor and fame are the legitimate reward of virtue and talent. Like wealth, they may be sometimes unworthily and sometimes unwisely bestowed; but when yielded to merit or won by industry, they hang like a graceful robe on their wearer, imparting dignity and commanding respect. Beneficently placed within the reach of all, they appear like trophies to be won and worn by those who successfully contend against indolence and vice; and it is of rare occurrence in the history of any country, that superior mental attainments, in alliance with moral worth, judiciously directed and actively employed, have failed in their attainment. A new attestation of this universal truth will be found in this memoir.

Louis McLane is a son of the late Allan McLane, a gallant and distinguished officer in the revolutionary war. He was born May 28th, 1786, at the village of Smyrna, Kent county, Delaware. Inheriting his father's enterprise and patriotic spirit, his attachment to the military profession exhibited itself at a very early period. In 1798, at the age of twelve years, he obtained a midshipman's warrant, and was ordered to the frigate Philadelphia, about to sail on her first cruise, under the command of Stephen Decatur, the father of the renowned and lamented commodore of that name. During this cruise, which continued nearly twelve months, he is said to have displayed courage and enterprise beyond his years: but the anticipation of a brilliant career in the service was disappointed by his resignation, on his return to the United States, in 1801, in consequence of the earnest entreaties of his mother that he would select another profession. From the moment when his mind received this new direction, he applied himself indefatigably to the acquisition of knowledge; and having completed his education at the college of Newark, in the state of Delaware, he co
study of the law in 1804, in the office of th
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his pupil, and a friendship was formed which terminated only with the life of the instructer. Mr. McLane was admitted to the bar of Newcastle in November, 1807. Here his knowledge and capacity as a counsellor, and his eloquence and fidelity as an advocate, at once rendered him conspicuous; and the consequent influx of extensive engagements in the most important causes, soon elevated him to the first eminence in his profession;—a profession at that time embracing such men as Bayard, Rodney, Read, Vandyke, and others of a high order of intellect.

The capacity of Mr. McLane as a public speaker, the quickness and perspicuity of his mind, his accurate and comprehensive perceptions, and his great power of argument, combined with that honorable and elevated cast of character for which he has been uniformly distinguished, enabled him not only to reach, but permanently to maintain, the highest rank at the bar of his native state, and to secure to himself, in an eminent degree, the respect and confidence of his colleagues and fellow citizens throughout the state. His personal happiness received a great addition about this period, by his intermarriage, in the year 1812, with the eldest daughter of the late Robert Milligan.

Mr. McLane was brought up in the political school of Washington, and commenced his career as a member of the party of which that great man was the head, and from which the temptations of ambition have never induced him to separate. Though he may have embraced the principles of that school under the influence of early associations—his gallant father and his enlightened instructer being among its members—he adhered to them under the conscientious conviction that they were identified with the best interests of the people. He was a patriot, and not a partisan—looking to the aggregate of measures, or to motives and results of the whole, rather than of a part.

The last war found him in full professional practice; and although his political friends had opposed the war as premature, yet, no sooner had it been declared, than he cordially joined in its support, and at a great sacrifice of his private interests, embarked in the contest personally, and without emolument. Fortifications being considered necessary for the defence of his town, he contributed his own manual labor to their erection; and yielding offices to those who preferred their tranquil and lucrative enjoyment to the sure peril and doubtful glory of conflict, he literally shouldered his musket, and went into the ranks as a private. As a member of a volunteer company, com-

manded by the late Cæsar A. Rodney, (attorney general of the United States under Mr. Jefferson's administration,) he marched with his comrades when they tendered their services for the defence of Baltimore, until they were checked in their progress at Elkton, by the information that their aid was not desired. The example and exertions of Mr. McLane on this occasion had an important influence in reconciling party opposition, and producing, among all classes of his fellow citizens, union and energy in the prosecution of the war, and in support of the government. In July, 1813, he was selected to deliver an oration to his company, in the presence of a numerous and judicious auditory, and the chivalrous and patriotic spirit which breathed throughout the whole of this production, established his reputation as a sound orator and a good citizen.

Mr. McLane was elected, in 1816, to represent the people of the state of Delaware in the congress of the United States. This high tribute to his merits, so gratifying to its object, and so honorable to the discrimination of those who conferred it, placed him at once in a station in which his labors were to assume a more national character, his intellectual powers to range through a wider expanse, and his purposes and his fame to be developed for other times. He was now called to contend in that more spacious and splendid field, in the conflicts of which the interests of millions are involved, and where the decisions of an individual may become the edicts of a country, and fix the destiny of a generation.

On the 1st of December, 1817, being the commencement of the first session of the fifteenth congress, Mr. McLane took his seat in the house of representatives, of which body he continued to be a member until the termination of the nineteenth congress, in the spring of 1827. His course as a legislator was manly, liberal, and patriotic. As an expositor of the constitution, his constructions were the result of a close examination of the views of its framers, and of those who were contemporary with the period of its adoption, and a comparison of those views with the impressions of his own mind and the deductions of his own judgment. In the practical application of its doctrines, he sought for the rule of his decision in that nice adjustment of legislative action to the wants of the people which would produce the greatest possible result of general prosperity. Against all propositions involving unnecessary or exorbitant expenditures, his vote stands on record in the journals of the house. When he entered congress, the heavy debt which had been contracted during the war absorbed a great portion of the public revenue, and he was one of

those who sedulously labored for the diminution of this burden upon the resources of his country. But the policy of preparation in peace for the contingency of war, which he considered scarcely of less importance than the discharge of the public debt with as much rapidity as the depression of the national energies would permit, led him at the same time to promote all those objects which looked to the more effectual security of the country against future aggression. The last few years had been fruitful in bitter experience. He had seen the public coffers exhausted and the various sources of revenue drained, in consequence of the absence of those facilities of transportation, which, by a wise and timely system of precaution, might be provided, against any recurrence of events inauspicious to the public tranquillity; and he became the advocate of such measures as would put the country in that attitude which would hereafter render defence less costly and more effectual. To this cause may be ascribed his support of those measures of internal improvement which contemplated a channel of intercourse between the north and the south, through the interior of the country, by which men and the munitions of war could be conveyed to any important point of operations, without the danger of hostile interruption. Looking to the same objects he also sustained, on the floor of congress as well as in the committee room, that more expensive and yet more necessary branch of the great scheme of national defence, which embraced the erection of fortresses at those points where the principal rivers discharge themselves into the Atlantic and the Gulf of Mexico. The records of the parliamentary eloquence of that period amply develop Mr. McLane's views on these interesting subjects, and testify the soundness of his constitutional constructions, the sincerity of his patriotism, the breadth of his political forecast, the boldness of his conceptions, and the loftiness of his elocution. While it is due to Mr. McLane to exhibit him in his legislative career as the steady advocate of the policy of internal improvement, so far as it was connected with the scheme of public defence, it is equally just to his discrimination that he should not be confounded with the supporters of every project, local in its advantages and limited in its extent. Between the high purposes of public defence and national security, and the interested projects of individuals for sectional objects, he boldly planted his foot; and resisted every application to congress to dispense the public funds for the advancement of personal, corporate, and local views, while any portion of the public debt remained unsatisfied.

LOUIS McLANE.

The pendency of the celebrated Missouri question, and the legislation in reference to the admission of that state into the union, invested the proceedings of the sixteenth congress with an extraordinary interest. The discussion of the restriction of the new state on the subject of slavery shook the walls of the capitol, and agitated the whole circle of the union. In a crisis of such difficulty and peril, Mr. McLANE selected a course which attested the vigorous and manly structure of his mind. On the one hand he was strongly assailed by the prejudices of his constituents, prejudices deeply rooted and sincere, and consequently deserving and demanding the utmost respect and consideration. The convictions of his own mind, on the other hand, impelled him to yield obedience to the provisions of the constitution as paramount to all other authorities, and to adopt the guidance of his own conscience in their application. His difficulties were at this moment increased, by instructions from the legislature of his state to vote in favor of restricting the new state from permitting the existence of slavery within its limits. To vote against restriction, therefore, was to place himself in opposition to the opinions of those who had elected him; a position not to be taken without a solemn conviction that it was required by a higher obligation than that of obedience to the constituent authority. The oath which he had taken to support the constitution, according to his reading of the fundamental charter, prescribed a course contrary to that which was marked out by the legislature. Thus, submission to his instructions involved a violation of his oath, while the mandate of his oath prohibited a compliance with his instructions. As the most imperative of the conflicting obligations, he yielded to his oath; and on the issue which he thus made up with his constituents, staked his immediate popularity and his future fortunes. That in this decision he exhibited as much sagacity as firmness was proved by the fact, that he was elected to the succeeding congress, and that his reputation as a statesman acquired a new impulse, and established itself more firmly in the public confidence, and in that of his own state.

On a subsequent occasion of great public excitement, he again found himself thrown into opposition to the views both of a considerable portion of his own state, and of a numerous and powerful party throughout the union. The people having failed to elect a president at the electoral election in 1824, it became the duty of the house, under the constitution, to make a selection from the three candidates having the highest number of votes. A committee was

appointed to prepare rules to be observed during the proceeding, and the report of this committee being under consideration, an important discussion arose, going wholly beyond the question as to the rules of proceeding, and embracing high constitutional points, hitherto untouched. It was maintained by Mr. McLane, that, in giving his vote for president under the constitutional provision which devolved the election upon the house of representatives, it was the right and the duty of a member to vote according to his own judgment, without being bound either by any instructions from his immediate constituents, or by any popular preference inferrible from one of the candidate's having received a plurality of the electoral votes. Mr. McLane enforced his views with great ability; his speech on that occasion is considered as one of his most successful efforts; and if a like crisis should again occur, will be referred to as a text book for those who assert their right to a free choice.

Standing in connection with the enlightened minority who sustained the claims of Mr. Crawford to the presidency, he acted in conformity with the principles he had so ably expounded, and gave his vote, as all admitted, conscientiously; though to the candidate having the smallest number of votes. Even among the opponents of Mr. Crawford were to be found adversaries capable of appreciating and admiring the courage and devotion which prompted so honorable and chivalrous an adherence to his principles, under circumstances the most discouraging, and in disregard of the censure he was sure to encounter. His course, however, was marked by that intrepidity and decision, without which, even great talents fail, in trying emergencies, to secure general confidence and command permanent admiration.

The necessity of a policy which would cherish and sustain a system of domestic industry, by which the great variety of the productions of our soil might be fabricated without a resort to foreign looms, was early recognised by the state of Delaware. On this point Mr. McLane participated in the feelings of his constituents. He had seen, during the last war, the extent of the evils which had resulted from an entire dependance on foreign supplies for articles indispensable to the comfort of civilized society; and, admonished by the past, he was anxious to provide nearer and more certain sources of supply for the future. In reference, also, to the creation of a revenue, he was impressed with the importance of imposing such duties on articles of foreign manufacture which could be wrought out of our own *materiel*, by our own industry and genius,

as would afford to the citizens of the United States who should turn their thoughts and their toil into that direction, a fair competition in our own markets with foreign capital and industry. Influenced by these views Mr. McLANE became an advocate of the tariff policy, both as a source of revenue and as a measure of protection to the domestic manufacturer, which would enable him to supply the wants of the country. His speeches on this question contain a mass of powerful argument in favor of the constitutional power of congress to impose duties for protection, combined with a variety of enlightened views as to the expediency of exercising that power in relation to the objects which were in the contemplation of its advocates.

The limits allowed to this sketch do not permit a detailed review of Mr. McLANE's congressional career. He has borne a prominent part in all the most important measures of congress, either in the house or in the senate, from 1817 to 1829. In the house he was first appointed a member of the committee on commerce. He was subsequently appointed chairman of the naval committee; and, while holding that post, he reported a bill for the re-organization of the navy, containing a plan well calculated to add to the efficiency of that essential means of national defence, and to excite the patriotic ambition of its gallant officers. He was also a member, with Mr. Lowndes and others, of the special committee appointed in 1819 to investigate the affairs of the bank of the United States. In 1822 he was appointed chairman of the committee of ways and means, in which station he continued until he was elected to the senate.

At the head of that committee, the most important in the house, the duty of sustaining the executive government by the needful appropriations was principally devolved upon Mr. McLANE, whose skill in financial arrangement, comprehensive knowledge of the wants of the government, vigilance in detecting and defeating unreasonable and extravagant demands, and constant regard to an economical disbursement of the public money, speedily won the confidence of the committee and of the house. The fidelity and talent with which he carried through the measures intrusted to his charge, established his merits as a financial minister, and his tact and industry as a legislator.

On an examination of Mr. McLANE's congressional career it may be safely asserted, that no member ever acquired, in a higher degree, the confidence of the house. A body comprising so much virtue and talent could not fail to render that justice to his purity of purpose,

elevation of sentiment, enlargement of views, and profoundness of reflection, displayed and recommended as they were, by great ability as a parliamentary speaker.

In December, 1827, at the commencement of the twentieth congress, Mr. McLane took his seat in the senate of the United States, having been elected, by the legislature of Delaware, a senator for the term of six years from the 4th of March preceding. In this body he had occasion to sustain and enforce the opinions he had expressed in the other branch, on the subject of the protecting duties, and the limitation of the public contributions, for the purposes of internal improvements, to such objects as should be deemed of national importance.

The legislative services of Mr. McLane closed with the termination of the second session. His talents and services had been too conspicuous to escape the notice of General Jackson; and one of the earliest testimonies of executive favor was given to Mr. McLane. In May, 1829, without solicitation on his part, he was selected by General Jackson to fill the important station of minister of the United States in Great Britain; and, after devoting a short time to the arrangement of his personal concerns, he embarked for London, where he early applied himself to the grave and arduous duties which his government had committed to his charge.

To a mind liberally endowed with natural gifts, and highly improved by long and skilful cultivation, Mr. McLane unites that blandness, courtesy, and grace of demeanor, so admirably adapted to harmonize with the manners of European courts. By this happy combination of diplomatic qualities, he was enabled to make those impressions in the outset, the favorable influence of which was demonstrated, in the ready ear which was always given by the British cabinet to his propositions, and the constant disposition to concede to an urbane and amiable deportment, points which might have been sturdily maintained against less favorable qualities. The adroitness and manliness with which he conducted the negotiation concerning the delicate and embarrassing question of the exclusive commercial rights of Great Britain in her own colonies, has placed Mr. McLane on an elevated point in the scale of diplomatic character.

After residing in London about two years, Mr. McLane returned, and was called to take charge of the treasury department in 1831, in the second cabinet of General Jackson. His expositions of the state of the finances while in this situation, are distinguished by succinctness, and his suggestions exhibit much depth of reflection

and accuracy of judgment. Treating with deference and respect the sentiments of those with whom he has been connected in the administration of the government, whenever they came in conflict with his own, he has so well succeeded in fortifying and defending his opinions, as to demonstrate that they also have possessed the strongest claims to consideration, and that he has taken no single position, on questions of a high national character, without a calm and deliberate conference with his own judgment, assisted by all the lights which he could obtain from examination, reflection, and experience.

It was during Mr. McLANE's financial administration that the discontents which a portion of our southern brethren entertained in respect to the policy of fostering domestic manufactures, assumed a character so serious as to produce general apprehension for the public tranquillity. All the precautionary measures which the occasion required of him were promptly taken, and so judicious were they, that they did not tend in any degree to exasperate the local excitement. He afterwards contributed, by his firm but conciliatory counsels, to the spirit of mutual concession, which resulted in those measures which have happily restored harmony to the country.

That Mr. McLANE has been eminently successful in retaining the confidence and esteem of the chief magistrate by whom he was called to office, and of the members of the cabinet with whom he has been associated, may be inferred from the fact, that during the year 1833 he was called to the superintendence of the department of state.

In the honorable and responsible station which he now fills, Mr. McLANE merits all that consideration from his country which he has bought, at the costly price of nearly twenty years of devotion to the public interests.

At an early period of his life he brought his household gods and laid them on the altar of his country; an offering which was yielded to the dictates of a patriotic spirit, in opposition to the less noble suggestions of that cold prudence which holds up a selfish enjoyment as the highest of human duties and aims. His wealth consists in a mind constant, elevated, and active in the promotion of human prosperity, and a reputation free from stain, which will descend to his children, an inheritance which neither gold can purchase, nor envy diminish, nor the pernicious blight of time destroy.

Though scarcely arrived at the prime of life, Mr. McLANE has already reached an official eminence inferior only to those of presi-

dent and vice president. He has passed legitimately to the high place of secretary of state, through all the intermediate trusts of representative of the people, senator, minister to London, and secretary of the treasury:—proving in all his knowledge of public affairs, and fitting himself for still higher service. As he is not a party man, but prefers on all occasions the course pointed out by his own conscientious convictions of right, his success is not the result of party influence. He owes it to the esteem in which his fellow citizens hold his integrity, his patriotism, and his talents. With his qualifications for public service, and with the high public confidence which he enjoys, a long career of usefulness and honor lies before him.

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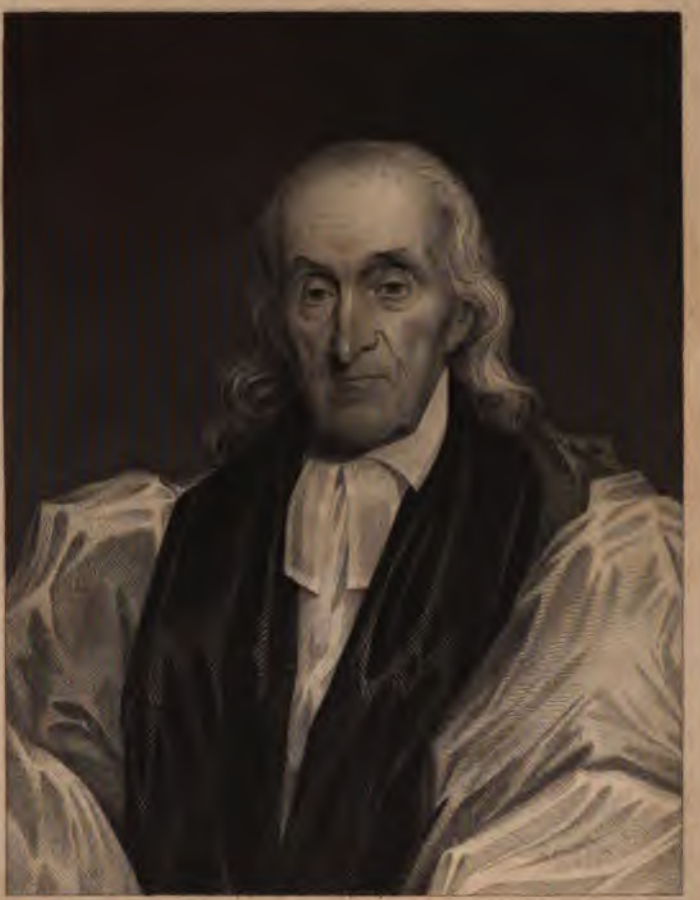

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WILLIAM WHITE, D.D.

BISHOP OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Æ. 85

William White

WILLIAM WHITE, D.D.

It is given to few men to attain a ripe old age honorable; but few of our readers of this memoir. Born at Philadelphia, in the year 1747, (March 24th old style, but April 5th by the change of style,) he yet lives in a good old age, the Presiding Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church, walking in the footsteps of his Divine Master, "as down with God and man."

His parents were distinguished by the most estimable qualities. His father Col. Thos. White, a native of London, who came to Maryland in early youth, and there engaged in successful practice as a lawyer, was a man of sound judgment, and sterling integrity through life. Col. White was twice married. His second wife, a woman of sound understanding and sincere piety, was the widow of Mr. John Newman, of New-Jersey; and their only children were Mary, who was married to the celebrated statesman and financier Robert Morris, and WILLIAM, now Bishop of Pennsylvania. To the pious character of his mother, the Bishop bears his grateful testimony, and says, "My earliest impressions of religion were the fruit of her instructions." His father, Col. White, having removed to Pennsylvania, and being there well known as a friend of learning, was chosen a Trustee of the newly endowed college of Philadelphia; and in this institution the son commenced and completed his academical career.

At the age of seven years, he was transferred from the school of a mistress to the English school of the new college, under Mr. Ebenezer Kinnersley, a friend of the philosopher Dr. Franklin. When ten years old, he was advanced into the Latin school, under Mr. Paul Jackson, a man of genius and classical attainments; and at the age of fourteen, he was matriculated.

At this early period of life, his thoughts were directed to the Christian ministry.

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incident. "It may be recorded with truth," says he, "but let it be with humility and with sorrow for innumerable failures, and for having fallen far short of what was due to the advantages of early years, that there is not recollected any portion of my life, during which I was altogether regardless of the obligations of religion or neglected prayer. But in about the middle of my sixteenth year, there occurred some circumstances, particularly the decease of an amiable young lady, of my own age, but in whom I had not felt any further interest than as an acquaintance of my sister. This event gave my mind a tendency to religious exercises and inquiries, which were promoted by its being understood that a visit was expected from the Rev. George Whitfield. His coming caused religion to be more than commonly a subject of conversation; and this added to the existing tendency of my mind." Whitfield, at this period, (1763,) had long been in the wane of his popularity,—his health much impaired, his naturally slender person grown to corpulence, and his rare powers of utterance affected by these causes; yet even under such great disadvantages, "his force of emphasis and the melodies of his tones and cadences," says the Bishop, "exceeded what I had ever witnessed in any other person." Our youthful hearer was not among the field-preacher's devotees: the glow of eloquence, however, with which Whitfield, in "thoughts that breathe," gave life to sacred subjects, and, beside this, the earnest religious conversations of the day, must have produced powerful effects upon a mind then roused to serious thoughts upon religion. But with a calmness amid the prevailing agitations, that was remarkable in a boy of only sixteen years, he did not find himself disposed to be "a convert." He states, that he could not reconcile to his mind the vows and the doings of Whitfield, as a clergyman of the Established Church,—"his obligations, and his utter disregard of them." This aspect of things, new and strange to an ingenuous young man, most happily led him to deliberate investigation, and thus were at last fixed in his mind those principles of apostolic order, on which he was destined, in the course of Providence, to lay the foundation of the now florishing American Episcopal Church.

Having spent three years in college, he graduated at the age of eighteen, in the year 1765, and soon began the study of Theology.

Five years after he left college, he embarked for Europe, in October 1770, with the usual letters to Dr. Terrick, then Bishop of London; for before the declaration of our civil independence, the Bishop of London had charge of the Episcopal churches in America.

The candidate was examined by the Bishop's chaplain, and, with many others, was ordained a deacon, under letters demissory, by the Bishop of Norwich, Dr. Young, in the Royal Chapel, of which the Bishop of London was the dean.

For eighteen months after this time, he tarried in England, where it was his privilege, in the society of some valued relatives at Twickenham, or in occasional journeys, to improve himself in useful learning, to lay up rich materials for reflection, and to cultivate the acquaintance of the wise and good. Alluding to his rambles at that time, he speaks particularly of his visits to Lancashire and Derbyshire, of his tour to Bath, and to the University of Oxford;—of his interview with Dr. Kennicott, from whose hands he received a copy of his Hebrew collations;—of the preaching of Dr. Robert Lowth, afterward the Lord Bishop of London;—of his conversing with Dr. Oliver Goldsmith, on the state of the peasantry depicted in the Deserted Village;—and of his introduction by letter to Dr. Samuel Johnson, with whom he had occasional conversations, and whom he saw occupied in preparing his great work for a new edition. In April 1772, he was admitted to Priests' Orders. He embarked for America in June, and in September he arrived at Philadelphia, where he was soon settled as an assistant minister in the parish of Christ Church and St. Peter's.

During the long term of sixty-one years, he has labored in the cause of piety and learning, not only in the institutions peculiar to the Church, but in *all* the prominent institutions of Philadelphia,—for sixty years a Trustee of the University; the President of the Bible Society of Philadelphia, which was the first established in the U. S.; the President of the Dispensary, since its origin in 1784, of the Prison Society, from its origin about forty years ago, of the Society for the Deaf and Dumb, and of the Society for the Blind. He has been variously connected also with many other institutions, as a manager or member, and before the birth of most of his coadjutors in these public charities, he laid the corner-stones of their edifices, and established the principles of their perpetuity and their success.

Well read in the history of England, and adopting those principles which entered into its constitution from the Saxon times, he thought and felt and acted with our revolutionary patriots, very many of whom were his associates and friends. "When my countrymen," says he, "had chosen the dreadful measure of resistance, it was also the dictate of my conscience, to take what seemed the right side." He entered fully into the subject, as a decided Christian

patriot. His brethren in the assistant ministry of the parish, preached animating sermons before battalions of the soldiery; but *this* he refused to do, alleging that he did not think it right to make his ministry "instrumental to the war," or, as he says, "to beat the ecclesiastical drum." With all the other clergy of the Church of England, he used the prayer for the king, until the Sunday following the Declaration of Independence. Soon after that time, he took the oath of allegiance to the United States.

The disquietudes occasioned by the war induced him, in September 1777, to leave Philadelphia, then occupied by British troops, and to repair with his family to the house of a near relative in Maryland. While there, he received official notice, that Congress, who had fled to York-town, had chosen him one of their chaplains. Consistent in his principles, he at once accepted the appointment, and performed the stated duties of the chaplaincy.

A dark cloud hung over the church of England in America, at this crisis. In Pennsylvania, the settled clergy of the province, exclusive of the city, had at no time exceeded six in number, and the chief reliance of all these for their support was on stipends received from England. The war led some of them to take leave of the country, some died, and the subject of our memoir was soon left the only Episcopal clergyman in the whole state.

The rectorship of the parish of Christ Church and St. Peter's, after a time, was declared by the vestry to be vacant; and they at once unanimously elected to the office the Rev. WILLIAM WHITE. In the spring of the year 1783, he received the degree of D. D. from the university of Pennsylvania, and was, it appears, the first person on whom the university conferred that honor.

Not long before the peace of '83, despairing of a prompt acknowledgment of our independence, and perceiving the Episcopal ministry approaching to annihilation, Dr. WHITE wrote and published a small pamphlet, called "The Case of the Episcopal Churches in the U. S. considered." This pamphlet was issued without the author's name. But its pure spirit and its noble bearing proved it the production of a superior mind. With a faithful pencil, it depicted the entire desolation that awaited a rapidly declining church. It pressed the obligation of adopting speedy and decisive measures, to perpetuate her ministry and worship. With this view, it proposed the establishment of an Episcopal Church in the U. S., to be divided into districts, each district to have not only clerical but LAY delegates, and all the districts to be represented in a continental convention of

the church. The proposed districts being thus constituted, "they should elect a clergyman their permanent President, who, in conjunction with other clergymen to be appointed by the body, might exercise such powers as are purely spiritual, particularly that of admitting to the ministry." The convention was, however, to declare in favor of Episcopacy, and profess a determination to procure the apostolical succession, as soon as it could conveniently be had.

This measure of a deviation from the ancient apostolic practice, was startling to all those who held, that the office of bishops was essential to the existence of the Church. But when numerous Episcopal congregations were scattered, "having no shepherd,"—when many of their churches had been closed for years, when the war rendered the supply of vacancies impracticable, when these vacancies were daily multiplying by deaths and by removals, and when there were but few Episcopal pulpits in the whole country from which the Gospel sound was heard,—it was indeed a time of peculiar emergency. The prospects of Churchmen in America were veiled in the deepest gloom. It was the summer of the year 1783. Our national independence, the mother country had not yet recognised. It was the opinion of judicious persons, that she might perhaps lay down her weapons, but not yield her claims. And in this exigency of the case, the author of the pamphlet made an appeal to the high authority of Hooker, Hoadly, Usher, and Cranmer, and suggested, rather than abandon *every* ordinance of positive and divine appointment, to yield to a temporary deviation from the ancient practice. He argued against any union of Church and state. And although James I. might teach, IN ENGLAND, "No bishop, no king; and no king, no bishop;" IN THE UNITED STATES, just rising in the freshness and the vigor of her independence, Episcopacy by no means seemed to depend upon the *will*, no, not on the *existence* of a monarch, but might, as has actually proved to be the case, florish *as well* at least *without*, as *with*, the patronage of government.

The whole subject, however, in a few months assumed a form, that met the hopes, and responded to the prayers of many. Our independence was acknowledged by Great Britain, in the fall of the year 1783. The organizing of the Church very soon commenced. The first step made in it was an invitation from the Vestry of Christ Church and St. Peter's, Nov., 1783, to the Vestry of St. Paul's. Deputies met at the house of Dr. WHITE, Mar. 29, 1784. They invited a convention of delegates from all the churches in the state, who met in Christ Church, Philadelphia, May 24. Their pro-

ceedings, in a few days, were laid before a meeting in New-Jersey, which was followed by a meeting in New-York; and thence resulted the call of the first General Convention, at Philadelphia, in Sept. and Oct., 1785.

At this first General Convention, Dr. WHITE presided. A committee was appointed, to draft and report a constitution, and Dr. WHITE was a member of this committee. The instrument was written by his hand. And his thorough knowledge of his subject enabled him to meet the views and wishes of all parties. The Constitution was adopted; and during the lapse of almost fifty years, it has united in a holy bond the once scattered members of the Episcopal Communion. Certain alterations were now made in the Book of Common Prayer; and it was resolved, to address the archbishops and bishops of England, asking for the consecration of bishops elect from America.

The clergy of Connecticut, acting apart, had already (1785) succeeded in obtaining a Bishop, the Rt. Rev. Dr. Samuel Seabury,—consecrated, however, not by English bishops, but by bishops of the Episcopal Church in Scotland. Yet this did not meet the existing want; and there was a general and decided wish, that the proposed bishops should be, by all means, consecrated in ENGLAND. There were also, both here and abroad, not a few, who doubted whether this consecration by the Scotch bishops was valid. Among these was the celebrated Granville Sharp, the grandson of Archbishop Sharp, whose deep interest in the American Episcopacy appears from his letters to the Archbishop of Canterbury and Dr. Franklin.

The Address of the General Convention of '85 was handed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, by our foreign minister Mr. John Adams, who used his influence on many occasions, to facilitate the measure proposed.

The history of the times exhibits numerous and afflictive embarrassments, arising from the want of resident bishops. Applications from America were made again and again; and in England the measure found warm advocates in many, especially in Archbishop Secker. But jealousy on the part of the colonies, in regard not only to the office but the name of bishop, and prudential considerations on the part of the British crown, presented for a long time insuperable barriers. The only dependance for a supply of clergy, was on emigration, or on candidates sent to the Bishop of London for their Orders. The revolution of the colonies created disabilities even on his part. And after our civil independence had been recognised,

new difficulties were suggested; so that when certain candidates applied soon after the peace of '83, they could not, as citizens of a free country, assume the oaths of allegiance required at ordination. The candidates turned their thoughts to the Episcopal Church of Denmark, and soon received, through our minister, Mr. Adams, favorable answers to inquiries which he had proposed in their behalf. Mr. Adams had conferred on the subject with M. de St. Saphorin, the Danish minister, who wrote to the king's foreign secretary, the Count de Rosencrone; and the result was an official communication to our government, transmitted to the president of congress. But an act of parliament, passed in 1786, and the proceedings of Churchmen in America, especially their Address, soon rendered unnecessary an acceptance of the offer, so very promptly and so liberally made by the theological faculty and the government of Denmark.

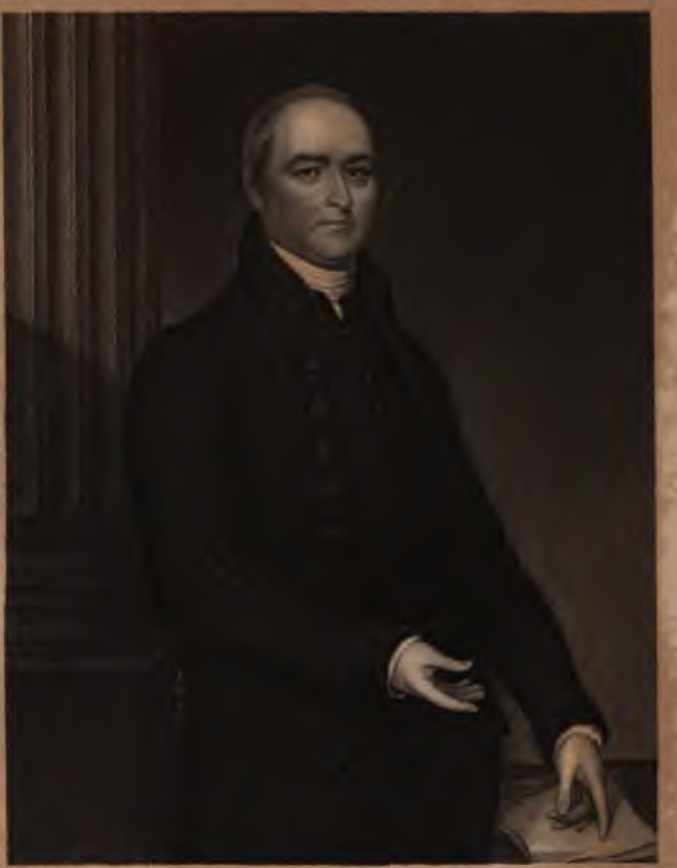
In the spring of 1786, a favorable reply to the Address was received from England, signed by the two archbishops and eighteen of the twenty-four bishops of the Established Church. General Conventions on the subject met in June and October. The Rev. Dr. PROVOOST, of N. Y., Dr. WHITE, of Pennsylvania, and Dr. GRIFFITH, of Virginia, were declared duly chosen by their respective conventions to proceed to England for the Episcopate. The two former soon embarked; the third, from some domestic cause, was unable to proceed. In eighteen days, they stepped on shore at Falmouth. They were presented to the Archbishop of Canterbury, by Mr. Adams. On the 4th of February, 1787, they were consecrated, in the chapel of the archiepiscopal palace at Lambeth, by the Most Rev. John Moore, Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by Dr. Markham, Archbishop of York, and by Bishops Moss and Hinchliffe. On Easter-day, Apr. 7, 1787, they were again in the U. S., and they soon entered on the active duties of their office. In the year 1790, Dr. MADISON, of Virginia, was also consecrated at Lambeth.

Episcopacy was now established in the U. S., under the most advantageous circumstances. It attracted the attention of all other communions, and, in a more especial manner, conciliated the regard of certain members of the Methodist Society. One of their spiritual fathers, the Rev. Dr. COKE, whom, to use his own words, Mr. Wesley invested "as far as he had a right to do, with Episcopal authority," was not satisfied with his wide deviation from apostolic practice, and wrote explicitly to Bishop WHITE, proposing to the American bishops to re-ordain all the preachers of the Methodist Society, to admit Mr. Asbury and himself to the episcopate, and

virtually to effect a re-union of Methodists and Episcopalians. Bishop WHITE, from the beginning, saw that the measure, as proposed, must fail; but Bishop Madison was very favorable to the scheme. At a meeting of the General Convention in 1792, he introduced a motion on the subject into the House of Bishops, and led them to bring it before the clerical and lay deputies. But the whole project was there set aside, and has never since been seriously agitated.

The limits prescribed to this sketch, will not admit of our alluding to the friends of Bp. WHITE, particularly the late lamented Bp. Hobart, nor to his Episcopal and parochial labors, nor to his endearing attributes of private life, nor to the various particulars, deeply interesting to Episcopalians, with which the name of their senior Bishop is associated. He has written "Memoirs of the Prot. Episc. Church," in 1 vol. oct.; and his opinions on the leading truths of Christianity may be found in his "Comparative Views of the Controversy between the Calvinists and Arminians," 2 vols. oct., in his "Lectures on the Catechism," 1 vol. oct., in his "Commentaries on the Ordination Services," 1 vol. oct., and in his numerous occasional Sermons, Charges, Addresses, Essays, and contributions to periodicals, forming a rich treasury of information on every important point of doctrine and discipline.

The founder and chief ornament of the Prot. Episc. Church, his character and writings will be a precious legacy to future generations. Excepting only Dr. Clagget, who received the episcopate from Bp. Provoost, all the twenty-five bishops, from the commencement of the Church, have been consecrated by the hands of Bp. WHITE. His first associates in his high office, without one exception, and many others since, amounting to fourteen in number, have gone hence from his side. Yet he lives. He has been present at every General Convention of the Church since its origin; and he now declares to his spiritual children "the noble works of the Lord" done "in the old time before them." In the forty-seventh year of his episcopate, the sixty-third of his ministry, and the eighty-sixth of his good old age, tall and erect in stature, with his flowing white locks and his marked features of benevolence, his mental faculties yet undecayed, and his soul calm in that peace which passeth understanding, we see in him a picture of the true sublime of our nature,—a holy man, full of years and full of honors, in the serene evening of a long life well spent in the immediate service of the Lord, about to compose himself to sleep in Jesus, in the certain hope of a blessed immortality.



Painted by Chas J. Woodhull.

Engraved by J. B. Forrest.

REVD TIMOTHY DWIGHT, S.T.D. & L.L.D.

Timothy Dwight

TIMOTHY DWIGHT.

This eminent divine was born of reputable parents, in Northampton, Massachusetts, in the year 1752. His mother was a daughter of the celebrated metaphysician and theologian, President Edwards, and is said to have inherited much of the uncommon powers of her father. She early perceived the promise of superior genius in her son, and cherished its progressive developments with all a mother's fondness. His advancement in learning, while almost in his infancy, was wonderfully rapid; and we are told by his biographers, that at the age of six years he studied through Lilly's Latin grammar twice, without the knowledge of his father. When he had just passed his thirteenth year, he was admitted a member of Yale college, and he went through his collegiate course with great credit. Immediately after graduating, he opened a grammar school in New Haven, which he continued for two years, when he was chosen a tutor in the college. During the period he was occupied with his school, he made a regular division of his time, devoting six hours of the day to his pupils, and eight hours to his private studies. He was for six years a tutor in the college, and was a laborious and successful teacher. So popular was he with the students, that on his resignation, and when only twenty-five years of age, a petition was presented by them to the corporation of the college, soliciting his appointment to the presidency. In directing his private studies at this time, he turned his attention more particularly to rhetoric and belles lettres, which had been but little cultivated in our seminaries previous to the revolution, and his early productions in prose and verse, in conjunction with those of Trumbull, Humphreys, and Barlow, formed an era in American literature.

In 1771 he commenced writing the "Conquest of Canaan," a regular epic poem, which employed his leisure hours until 1774, when it was completed. On receiving the degree of Master of Arts, in 1772, he pronounced an oration on the history, eloquence, and poetry of the Bible, which was published in this country

England. In order to economize his time at this period, and to avoid the necessity of exercise, he restricted himself to certain abstemious rules in diet, which, in the end, greatly impaired his health, and he was at length reluctantly compelled to lay aside his books. His physician recommended the daily use of severe bodily exercise, which he had endeavored to forego, and it is said, that during a twelvemonth he walked and rode upwards of five thousand miles, besides resuming, no doubt, that good old system of living to which he had been accustomed. The result, in a short time, was the complete restoration of his health, which continued good for the ensuing forty years of his life, and until he was attacked by his last illness.

In 1777 the different classes in the college were separated on account of the war, and he repaired, with his class, to Weathersfield, in Connecticut, where he remained from May to September. During this summer he was licensed to preach as a Congregational minister. In September he was nominated a chaplain in the army, and immediately joined the brigade of General Parsons, in the Massachusetts line. While in the army he wrote several patriotic songs, which were much admired and widely circulated.

In 1778 he received the melancholy tidings of the death of his father, upon which he resigned his situation in the army, and returned to Northampton, to assist his widowed mother in the education and support of her family. Here he remained about five years, laboring on the farm during the week, and preaching every Sabbath in one of the neighboring towns, besides establishing a school, which was largely patronized. During this period he was twice elected a member of the legislature of Massachusetts.

In 1783 he was ordained a minister in the parish of Greenfield, in Connecticut. Besides attending to his parochial duties, he also opened an academy here, which soon acquired a reputation then unequalled in our country; and in the course of twelve years, he taught more than one thousand scholars in the various branches of English and classical literature. During his residence at Greenfield he published the "Conquest of Canaan," for which, at the close of the war, he had obtained a list of three thousand subscribers. He however withheld its publication at that time, and now printed it at his own expense. It was shortly afterwards republished in England, and received the approbation of Darwin and Cowper, the former, particularly, commending the smoothness and melody of the versification. There are many splendid passages in this poem, and if it was not popular with all classes of readers, something may,

doubtless, be attributed to the theme; and although the author himself declared in after life that "it was too great an undertaking for inexperienced years," still, it must be considered an extraordinary production for a youth of twenty-two.

In 1794 he published his poem entitled "Greenfield Hill," named after the beautiful spot where he resided.

In 1795 he was elected president of Yale college, on the death of President Styles. On his accession to this office, he found the college in a depressed state, owing to the want of funds and other causes; but his distinguished reputation as an instructer brought to it a great increase of students, and he soon succeeded in establishing two new professorships, and in greatly extending the library and philosophical apparatus. He not only enlarged the sphere of instruction, but changed the whole system of government of the college, while he reformed the modes and elevated the tone of education, directing the students to a loftier aim in literary and moral improvement. The effects were soon abundantly visible, and Yale college has ever since ranked with the first institutions of learning in our country. During the twenty-one years he presided over it, a greater number of students were educated there than in any other similar institution.

In 1796 he commenced a regular course of travelling through New England and the state of New York, which he continued during the spring and fall vacations in each succeeding year, until a short time before his death. In these excursions, undertaken principally for the purposes of health, and of relaxation from his sedentary duties in the college, he was in the habit of making brief notes, upon the spot, of every thing interesting which he saw or heard, for the immediate gratification of his family; and these notes were afterwards written out by him, or to his dictation, by an amanuensis, and have been published since his death, under the title of "Travels in New England and New York," in four volumes octavo. This work contains a mass of useful and interesting information upon a great variety of topics, with amusing anecdotes and graphic sketches of scenery and character. A most valuable portion of it is its historical notices of the origin and customs of the aborigines of our country. He also left behind him, ready for the press, a complete system of divinity, contained in one hundred and seventy-three discourses or lectures, which formed his course in the college as professor of theology, and which have been published, both in England and this country, under the title of "Theology Explained and

Defended." He continued the active performance of his duties until near the close of his life, and heard the recitation of a theological class a week before his death. During his illness, which continued about two years, he occasionally occupied himself in poetical composition, to divert his mind from his painful sufferings. Four days previous to his death, he performed the last of his literary and earthly labors; and as he laid his manuscript aside, which was a theological dissertation, he said to his family, "I have now finished." He died at his residence in New Haven, January 11th, 1817, after severe and repeated attacks of his disease, the character of which, it is said, was not well understood.

In this brief sketch, it is not to be expected that full justice can be done to the character of President DWIGHT. We shall endeavor, however, to present our own views of it, derived from personal knowledge, and the observations of others, who have written his biography. As poetry did not form the business of his life, but was written merely as a mode of literary relaxation, there have been those among us who surpassed him in this department of literature, and as a poet, therefore, we do not ask for him the highest meed of praise. His mind, perhaps, was too logical and argumentative, his train of thought too methodical, and his memory too retentive of facts and details, and too much engrossed with them, to leave room for the display of that brilliant fancy which the highest flights of poetry require. His stronger mental powers he had subjected to a severe discipline from early youth, and we suspect that the philosophy of Bacon and Locke had always more charms for him than the music of the Doric reed. Still, some of his smaller poetical pieces are extremely beautiful.

But the fame of Dr. DWIGHT was not built upon his poetry, and does not rest upon it. As an instructer, he stood pre-eminent among his contemporaries, from the opening of his grammar school in New Haven, while a mere youth, to the close of his career as president of Yale college. He early made innovations upon previous methods of instruction, which were dictated by his powerful and original genius, and they were attended with signal success, as many who now occupy high places amongst us can bear witness. The art of the pedagogue, under his hands, expanded into a noble vocation, which commanded respect and veneration, and elevated science and literature in our country to a rank which, before his time, they had not attained. Over his pupils he exercised an unbounded influence, which was cemented in affection; and his unwearied efforts

at all times were, to pour into their minds that ripe knowledge, which it had been the whole business of his life to treasure up from study, meditation, and a familiar intercourse with the world. He was versed in almost every subject of science and art, and besides his own peculiar and professional studies, he had acquired inexhaustible treasures in natural philosophy, chemistry, history, geography, statistics, philology, husbandry, and domestic economy; and which were so methodically arranged in his mind, as to be always at command, and when he became animated in discourse, were poured forth from his lips in a perpetual stream of knowledge and wisdom.

Dr. DWIGHT's colloquial powers were very great, and no one who had the pleasure of listening to his conversation ever failed to be impressed with a high opinion of his great attainments, and a profound respect for his character, which was heightened by his polished and courteous address. To strangers he was urbane and affable, and among the friends of his fireside, he intermingled, in his social converse, flashes of wit with practical wisdom, the *utile cum dulci*, in the most fascinating degree. His temper was ardent, but his heart was full of kindness, and probably no husband, father, or friend, was ever more beloved than he was by those to whom he stood in these relations. To them his loss was irreparable, and a whole community sympathized in their sorrows. His memory was a storehouse of anecdotes upon all subjects, which he had been industriously collecting from books, and a long and attentive observation of mankind; and little of what he had once learned was afterwards forgotten. Hence his society was greatly courted, and the attentions which he uniformly received from all classes of his fellow citizens, were richly repaid by the instruction and pleasure which his conversation afforded.

As a theologian he stood at the head of his profession, at the time of his death, and was inferior in learning to none of his predecessors, if we except, perhaps, his maternal grandfather, President Edwards. As a proof of the correctness of this high praise, we confidently refer to his voluminous theological works, and the criticisms which have been pronounced upon them, both at home and abroad. He was an eloquent preacher, and although his discourses were addressed to the understanding rather than the passions of his hearers, who were statedly the members of the college, yet, when the subject admitted of oratorical display, he showed himself equal to the highest efforts of the art. His sublime conceptions of the Deity, especially of the

divine attributes of love and mercy, on which he delighted to dwell, when embodied in his powerful and impressive language, were only second to those of the great English epic poet; while in touches of pathos, particularly in his funeral discourses, or over the premature grave of youthful genius, he opened a direct and easy avenue to the stoutest heart, and his appeals were irresistible. His voice was clear, distinct, and loud, and its inflections, although few, were musical and agreeable; the only defect in his elocution was, too marked and frequent an emphasis, and too little variety in his tones; but his manner was dignified, earnest, and impressive, evincing sincere and ardent piety, and a feeling heart. The effect of his eloquence was enhanced by his fine personal appearance, graceful gestures, and an eye of fire.

In his intercourse with his fellow men and his "walk with God," he was every thing which the most devout Christian or rigid moralist could desire; and when he expired, our country was bereaved of a great and good man, and learning and religion sustained a loss not easily to be supplied.

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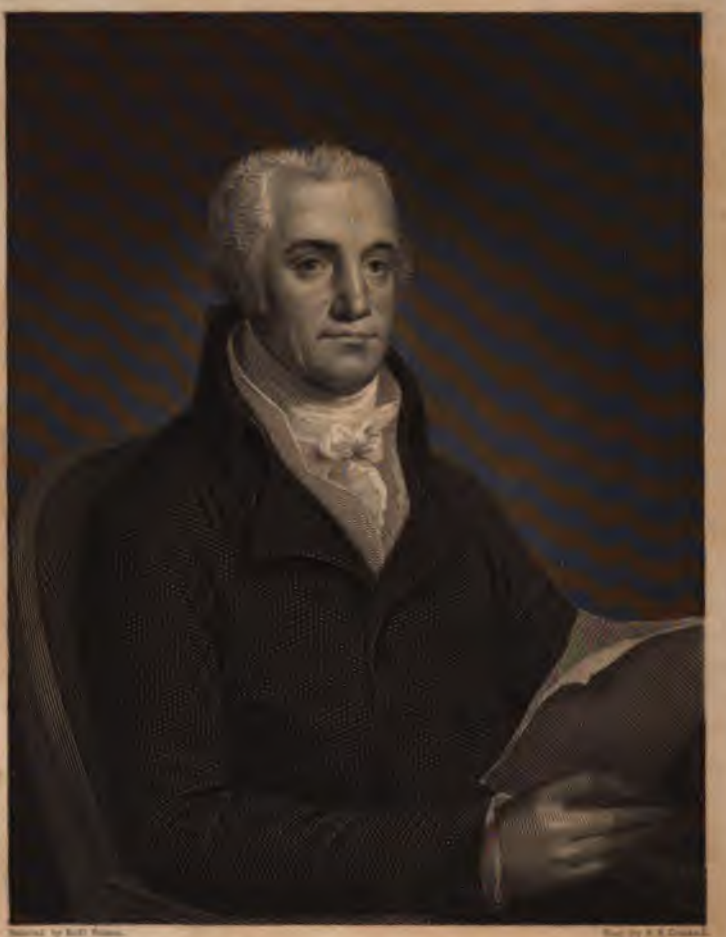

JOEL BARLOW.

J. Barlow

JOEL BARLOW.

THIS distinguished poet, philosopher, and politician, was born in the village of Reading, in Connecticut, about the year 1755. At an early age, he had the misfortune to lose his father, a respectable farmer, in moderate circumstances, who left a family of ten children, with only a slender patrimony for their support. But the education of young BARLOW was not neglected on this account, and after going through his preparatory studies, he was placed by his guardians at Dartmouth college, New Hampshire, where he remained a short time, when he was transferred to Yale college, New Haven. He here displayed a talent for poetical composition, which attracted the notice of Dr. Dwight, then a tutor in the college, and perhaps, the flattering encouragement he received from this distinguished man, fixed the character of his future life, over which, through all its vicissitudes, a devotion to the muses predominated.

At this period, the revolutionary war was raging, and young BARLOW, impelled by patriotism, and that enthusiasm which formed a marked trait in his character, took up arms in the service of his country, entering as a volunteer in the militia ranks of his native state. He, however, still continued a member of the college, and only sallied into the field during the vacations. He was engaged in various encounters with the enemy, and is said to have borne a part in the warmly contested battle of White Plains.

In 1778, he received the degree of bachelor of arts, and on that occasion, pronounced an original poem, which was afterwards published. On leaving college, he made choice of the profession of the law, and entered zealously upon its studies, but relinquished them in a few months, on being strongly urged by his friends to qualify himself for the Christian ministry, with a view to enter the army as a chaplain; and after only six weeks preparation, he was licensed, and immediately repaired to the camp to commence upon his new duties; in the performance of which, he gave general satisfaction, and was much respected as a preacher. He, however, did not neglect

the muse, but employed his leisure in composing the "Vision of Columbus," which afterwards formed the basis of his great epic poem, "the Columbiad;" and occasionally wrote patriotic songs and addresses, in conjunction with Dr. Dwight, also a chaplain in the army, and Colonel Humphreys, which are supposed to have had a considerable influence in exciting and keeping alive the enthusiasm of the soldiery.

On taking the degree of master of arts, in 1781, he recited another original poem, entitled the "Prospect of Peace," which he afterwards incorporated in the Vision of Columbus, and which appears with some alterations in the Columbiad. About this period, he married Miss Baldwin, a daughter of the Honorable Abraham Baldwin, then of New Haven, and subsequently of Georgia, which state he represented for many years in the senate of the United States.

Barlow remained with the army until the acknowledgment of our independence in 1783, when he abandoned the clerical profession, and reverted to his original plan of pursuing that of the law; with which view he removed to the city of Hartford, where he settled himself, as he probably imagined, for life. In addition to his legal pursuits, and for the purpose of immediate support, he established a weekly paper, and gained considerable reputation by various original articles upon the subject of politics, which were novelties at that day.

About the same period, he was employed by an association of the clergy of Connecticut, to revise Dr. Watts' version of the Psalms, so as to adapt them to the new order of things in our country; which service he performed to the satisfaction of the churches; and he also added some original hymns of his own composition, besides versifying some Psalms which had been omitted by Dr. Watts. A distinguished critic* has said of one of these—the hundred and thirty-seventh Psalm,—that it possesses "all the elegance and polish of language of the most highly finished modern poetry." The volume was published in 1786, and was used for many years as the authorized version of the Congregational Churches of New England. In the following year, the "Vision of Columbus" was published, with a dedication to Louis XVI., and, in a few months afterwards, it was reprinted both in London and Paris. He now relinquished his newspaper, and opened a bookstore, principally for the purpose

* See "Biography of Joel Barlow," published in the Analectic Magazine, in 1814.

of disposing of his own productions. This object being accomplished, he again resumed the practice of the law; but his success in this arduous profession was not very flattering; he was deficient in forensic abilities, and his previous desultory studies and varied pursuits were certainly not friendly to the acquisition of profound legal knowledge. He soon abandoned the bar, and engaged in other scenes, which led him from his native country, and at length to fortune, and a wider fame.

In 1788, he embarked for Europe, charged with an important land agency, and after passing a short time in England, he crossed over to France, where he concluded his agency to the satisfaction of his employers, but without much pecuniary advantage to himself. The revolution was then in progress; and embued as he was with republican principles, and enthusiastic by character, he was induced to remain in that country, in order to watch the development of the grand drama, which, we doubt not, he sincerely believed would result in the happiness of the people, by the overthrow of corrupt and despotic power.

In 1791, he returned to England, where he remained a year or more, and published the first part of a political work entitled "Advice to the Privileged Orders," which, with the addition of a second part, has since been several times reprinted. This publication attracted the notice of the celebrated Mr. Fox, who pronounced a formal eulogy upon it in the house of commons. In 1792, he published a short poem entitled "Conspiracy of Kings," which was suggested by the coalition of the European sovereigns against republican France. In the same year he addressed a letter to the national convention, in which he criticises their first constitution, and recommends the abolition of the royal power, and the severance of church and state. Towards the close of the same year, the London constitutional society, of which he was a member, voted an address to the national convention, and deputed Mr. Barlow and another member to present it. He was received in France with great respect, and complimented with the rights of citizenship, an honor which had been conferred upon General Washington and General Hamilton.

From this period, Barlow, for a time, fixed his residence in France, fearing, as is supposed, to return to England, in consequence of the resentment of the government being pointed against him, on account of his political writings and connections in that country. He afterwards accompanied a deputation of the convention to the newly acquired territory of Savoy, to organize it as a

department of the republic. He spent the winter at Chamberry, where, at the request of his friends of the convention, he wrote an address to the people of Piedmont, recommending them to throw off their allegiance to "the man of Turin, who called himself their king." During this winter he wrote the poem, entitled, "Hasty Pudding;" which is one of the happiest of his productions, and shews, that wherever he was a wanderer, and in whatever scenes he was engaged, there existed in his mind endearing recollections of childhood and of home. This poem, by an excess of eulogy, perhaps, has been compared to Goldsmith's "Deserted Village."

From Savoy he returned to Paris, where he continued to reside for three years, and, with the exception of a translation of Volney's Ruins, forebore all literary occupation. He, however, engaged in various commercial speculations, by which he realized a handsome fortune. About the year 1795, he was sent as an agent on private business to the north of Europe, and soon after his return, he received from President Washington the appointment of consul to Algiers, with powers to negotiate a treaty of peace with the dey, and to ransom all American citizens held in slavery on the coast of Barbary. He immediately proceeded on his mission, crossing through Spain, over to Algiers. He concluded treaties with the dey, and with Tunis and Tripoli, and redeemed and sent home all the American captives whom he could discover, amounting to about one hundred.

In 1797, he resigned his consulship, and returned to Paris, where he again entered into successful commercial speculations, devoting his leisure to political writings, and in 1805, after an absence of nearly seventeen years, he returned to his native country, with the determination of fixing his residence in it for the rest of his life.

With this view, he chose a beautiful situation within the District of Columbia, and reared upon it a mansion, which he dignified with the name of Kalorama; here he lived in an elegant and hospitable manner, associating on terms of intimacy and friendship, with our most distinguished citizens. But the native energies of his character would not permit him to remain idle, and he immediately engaged with great zeal in sundry efforts for the advancement of science and the arts among his countrymen. One of his schemes was the establishment of a national academy, to be under the patronage of the general government, and similar to the National Institute of France. This had been a favorite project with Washington, and also received the approbation of President Jefferson; but on being laid before congress, it failed to receive their sanction. Defeated in this effort,

he now turned his attention to the revision and publication of his great epic, and in 1808, the Columbiad made its appearance in a splendid volume, embellished with several fine engravings, which were executed in London by the first artists. It was dedicated to Robert Fulton, with whom BARLOW was on terms of great intimacy, being accustomed to regard him, indeed, as his adopted son. This dedication was alike honorable to both, and showed a better taste than the courtly dedication of the "Vision of Columbus" to one of the monarchs of Europe.

After the publication of the Columbiad, BARLOW employed himself in making a collection of historical documents, with a view of writing a general history of the United States; but in 1811, while occupied in these quiet literary labors, he was unexpectedly nominated by President Madison, minister plenipotentiary to the court of France. He accepted the mission, and as is well known, made every effort to negotiate with the Emperor Napoleon, a treaty of commerce, and of indemnification for former spoliations, but without effect; being perpetually baffled by the intrigues of the French diplomatists.*

At length, in October, in 1812, he was invited by the Duke de Bassano to a personal conference with the emperor at Wilna, in Poland. He immediately started on this journey, travelling night and day in a most inclement season of the year, and through countries wasted by war, and which could scarcely afford him a comfortable meal. The consequence was, that from his privations, and exposure to the severities of the weather, he was attacked with an inflammation of the lungs, from which he never recovered. He died on the twenty-second of December, 1812, at Zarnavica, an obscure village in Poland, near Cracow. He had not reached his destination, and consequently did not effect the object of his mission, but he is entitled to much credit for the energy and perseverance which he manifested not to lose the opportunity of an interview with the emperor, which he was induced to think would result favorably to the interests of his country.

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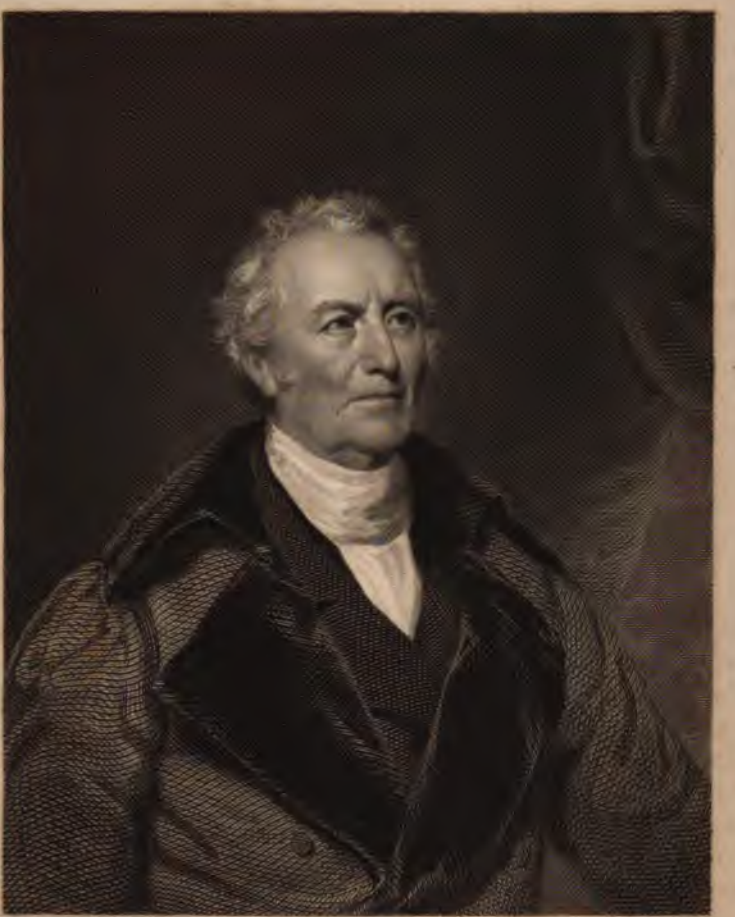
* The writer of this sketch has been told by an American gentleman, who was in Paris at the time, and intimate with the minister of foreign affairs, the Duke of Bassano; that the wily diplomatist questioned him about the peculiar traits of Mr. BARLOW's character. The gentleman, who personally knew Mr. BARLOW, candidly replied that he believed the American minister possessed the ordinary vanity of men in general, and besides, being an author and a poet, he doubtless had his share of the professional egotism of his class. The duke, it is said, immediately procured one of the splendid copies of the Columbiad, and caused it to be placed in a conspicuous part of his library, where it could not fail to attract the notice of the author on his interviews.

In Paris, every honor was paid to his memory as a man of letters, and a distinguished public functionary. The celebrated Helen Maria Williams wrote his epitaph, and an eulogy was read before the society for the encouragement of national industry, by Dupont de Nemours. In the following year, an account of his life and writings, in quarto, was published in Paris, accompanied by an extract from the Columbiad, translated into French heroic verse.

Mr. BARLOW is described as having been an amiable man in private life, of domestic habits, and of grave and dignified, but not courtly manners. He was reserved in mixed company, having little sprightliness or facility of general conversation; but upon subjects which excited him, or formed the theme of his studies, he conversed with animation and interest. His mind was of a philosophical cast, and better fitted for the examination of matters requiring patient and profound thought, than to "wander in fancy's fairy fields."

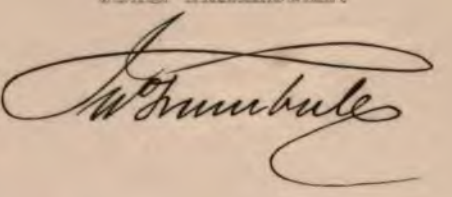
BARLOW'S prose style has been correctly described as perspicuous and forcible, as bearing the stamp of an active, acute, and powerful mind, confident of its own strength, but without native grace, and with little elaborate elegance; while much of his poetry is highly polished, and sometimes magnificent, although it may seem to lack somewhat of the divine inspiration of the muse. It was judiciously modelled after the poetry of Pope and of Goldsmith, and is always correct in its versification. Although BARLOW may not rank among the few distinguished epic poets who have appeared in the world at rare intervals, still, in the opinion of many, he is to be classed, if not as the best poet, at least among the best, which our country has produced. How many of the modern English poets, who have attempted to write an epic, are his superiors, we leave the critics to judge.

Upon the whole, from his superior natural genius, which was early noted and acknowledged, his expanded knowledge of the world, his moral, philosophical, and political disquisitions, the public stations which he held, his pure and ardent patriotism, developed in the revolution, and sustained throughout his life; his staunch, orthodox, and unbending republican principles; his poetic talents, and polished productions; the amiability and benevolence of his private character, and purity of his public life: JOEL BARLOW well deserves, and will maintain, an elevated rank among the distinguished men of our country.



Painted by Waldo & Jewett. for the Trumbull Gallery, Yale College New Haven. Engraved by A.B. Durand

JOHN TRUMBULL.



Entered according to the act of Congress in the year 1835 by Jacob Harvey in the clerks office of the District Court of the Southern District of N York.

JOHN TRUMBULL.

Of the ease and ability with which our countrymen adapt their talents to a variety of pursuits, we have already given some examples; the present subject affords another illustration of that peculiar trait of American character.

John Trumbull was born in Lebanon, Connecticut, on the 6th of June, 1756. He was the youngest son of the first Governor Trumbull; his mother's maiden name was Faith Robinson, the fifth in descent from the Reverend John Robinson, often called the father of the pilgrims, whose son came into the country in the year 1621. The carelessness or ignorance of the family physician had nearly consigned our infant genius to a life of idiocy, or an early grave; after being afflicted with convulsions nine months, it was discovered that the bones of his skull had been allowed to remain lapped over each other from his birth, but by skilful applications, and maternal care, they were adjusted, and, as we have heard him express it with filial veneration, "he owed his life a second time to his mother." At Lebanon, he went to school to Nathan Tisdale. He received, under the tuition of this gentleman, an excellent education, and entered the junior class at Harvard college, in January, 1772, and graduated in 1773. Finding himself to be a better scholar than those with whom he was associated, he was not a very diligent student, and to amuse himself, he frequently visited a respectable French family in the neighborhood, and learned to read and write their language. He searched the college library for books on the arts, and amongst them found Brook Taylor's "Jesuites' Perspective Made Easy"; this work he studied thoroughly, and copied all the diagrams. He in the same period copied several pictures which the college possessed: among others, an irruption of Mount Vesuvius, and a copy by Smybert, of Van Dyck's Head of Cardinal Bentivoglio. He had, before he went to college, somewhere picked up the title page of a book called "The Handmaid to the Arts," and had obtained a copy of the work from London, so that we may suppose his early

paintings were not the rude daubs of an ignorant boy. At this time Copley was in Boston, and TRUMBULL'S first visit to that distinguished artist happened to be made at a time, when he was entertaining his friends shortly after his marriage: he was dressed on the occasion, in a suit of crimson velvet with gold buttons, and the elegance of his style and his high repute, impressed the future artist with grand ideas of a painter's life. After leaving college, he painted his first original picture, the Battle of Cannæ, and soon after, the Judgment of Brutus. But at this time, the stirring incidents of the controversy with Great Britain, attracted the attention of all ages and all ranks, and TRUMBULL abandoned the palette and became an active politician. His father wished him to become a clergyman, but the son not liking the profession, gave the reins to his patriotic zeal, and was màde adjutant in the first Connecticut regiment, which was stationed at Roxbury. Here his drawing became of service. Washington was desirous to obtain a draft of the enemy's works, and hearing of the yoùng adjutant's ability, he requested him to attempt it. By cautious approaches, he had succeeded in obtaining a knowledge of the position of every gun, and had proceeded in his drawing, when a deserter came into the camp and communicated all that was necessary to be known and a slight sketch of the works, which confirmed TRUMBULL'S, so far as he had gone. In August, 1775, he was appointed aid-de-camp to the commander-in-chief, and after some two or three months, major of brigade. In that situation, he became more particularly known to the adjutant-general, Gates, by the careful accuracy of his returns; and in the following year that officer having been appointed to the command of the northern department, he was induced to offer TRUMBULL the office of adjutant-general. He accompanied the army to New York, and on the 28th of June, 1776, departed with General Gates; at which date his rank as colonel and adjutant-general commenced. Shortly after their arrival at Ticonderoga, he reconnoitered Mount Independence, which had not at that time been explored; and he again more fully examined it as a military position, in company with General Wayne, which led to its occupation. While here, he was impressed with the belief that the whole position was commanded by Mount Defiance, (Sugar-loaf Hill,) a height situated nearly at an equal distance from Mount Independence and Ticonderoga, and he took an occasion to mention his opinion; but his suggestion was not acted upon, and the next campaign, General St. Clair was left to defend the original lines with three thousand men. The British took possession of Mount De-

fiance, from which, according to their own account, they could observe every movement of the Americans within their lines. The abandonment of the entire position became immediately necessary, and St. Clair deserved great praise for his well-conducted retreat, by which the army was saved from capture, and became the nucleus of that force, which afterwards prostrated the British power in the northern department. In the mean time, the adjutant-general had remained without a commission: this rendered his situation peculiarly painful, and what rendered it more so was, that other and inferior officers did receive commissions, giving them rank equal to his own. After the termination of the campaign of 1776, General Gates received orders from the commander-in-chief to join him with all his disposable force behind the Delaware, which he did, a few days before the battle of Trenton. News was at that time received, that the British had landed at Newport, Rhode Island, with considerable force. General Arnold was ordered to proceed to Rhode Island to assume the command of the militia and oppose the enemy, and TRUMBULL was ordered to accompany him as adjutant-general. The head quarters were established at Providence for the winter, and there, in the month of March, he received his commission as adjutant-general, with the rank of colonel, but dated in September, instead of the previous June. Whatever was the cause of this is unknown; but it added to the chagrin and vexation of the officer commissioned, and within an hour he returned it, under cover, to the president of congress, accompanied with a letter, perhaps too concise and laconic, stating the impossibility of serving, unless the date was altered to correspond with the date of his actual service. A correspondence of some length ensued, when his resignation was accepted, and thus terminated his military career.

After a short visit to Lebanon, he went to Boston, to profit by the study of the works of Copley and others. Here he became acquainted with Mr. John Temple, afterwards, the first consul-general of Great Britain to the United States; through him he ascertained the possibility of his going in safety to London, to study under Mr. West. In May, 1780, he embarked for France, and after a short stay at Paris, reached London in August. He was kindly received by Mr. West, under whose liberal instruction, he pursued his studies without interruption until about the middle of November; at that time, the news of the death of Major André was received, and occasioned a violent irritation in the public mind. It was his misfortune to lodge in the same house with another American, who had been an officer, against

whom a warrant had been issued to apprehend him for high treason; instructions had been given to arrest, (ad interim,) the painter, and secure his papers. The following day, he was examined before the principal magistrates of the police, and was committed to prison. On hearing this, the apprehensions of Mr. West were aroused, for he well knew that he had enemies about the person of the king; he, therefore, hastened to the palace and asked an audience, which was granted, and he proceeded to state to the king his personal knowledge of the conduct of TRUMBULL while in London. After listening to him patiently, the king replied; "West, I have known you long, and I dont know that I have ever received any incorrect information from you on any subject, I, therefore, fully believe all that you have said on the present occasion. I sincerely regret the situation of the young man, but I cannot do any thing to assist him,—he is in the power of the law, and I cannot interfere. Are his parents living?" To which Mr. West answered that his father was. "Then I most sincerely pity him," said the king. After a moment's pause he continued, "Go immediately to Mr. TRUMBULL, and give him my royal assurance, that in the worst possible event of the law, his life will be safe." This assurance of course, softened in a great degree, the rigors of a winter's confinement, and enabled him to proceed with his studies. He copied, during the period, the St. Jerome of Correggio, which is now in the collection at Yale college. At length a turn took place in the affairs of the two countries, and the British government began to relax their severity. TRUMBULL, after about eight months detention, was admitted to bail by a special order of the king in council, on condition of quitting the kingdom within thirty days. His securities were West and Copley. He crossed over to Ostend, thence proceeded to Amsterdam, and embarked for Philadelphia in the South Carolina frigate; but the ship falling short of water and provisions, they put into Corunna, in Spain. There he left that ship, and took passage to Bilboa, whence he returned home in January, 1782. Fatigue, vexation, and disappointment, brought on a fit of illness, which confined him at his father's the principal part of the ensuing summer; after which, he again visited the army, then at Verplank's Point, and entered into an arrangement with his brother and others, for the supply of the army.

In the spring of 1783 the news arrived of the preliminaries of peace having been arranged. He was then at Lebanon, and his father took the occasion to urge him to pursue the profession of the law. He represented it as the leading profession in a republic, and

above all others likely to reward industry and gratify ambition. To which his son replied; that so far as he understood the law, it was rendered necessary by the vices of mankind; that a lawyer must be able, not only to defend the right, but must be equally distinguished for his acuteness and skill in extricating rogues from the consequences of their villainy; and as he viewed the life of a lawyer, it must be passed in the midst of all the wickednesses and meannesses of the baser part of mankind: he then went on to give his ideas of an artist's life—referred to Copley and West as living examples, and enlarged on the honors and rewards bestowed on artists by the ancients, particularly at Athens. "My son," replied the governor, "you have made an excellent argument, but its operation is against yourself: it serves to satisfy me, that in the profession of the law you might take a respectable stand, but in your case you have omitted one point, as the lawyers express it." What is that, sir?—"That Connecticut is not Athens." He then bowed, left the room, and never afterwards interfered in the choice of a profession.

In November, 1783, Colonel TRUMBULL again embarked for England, where he pursued his studies indefatigably under Mr. West; and in 1785, had made such progress, as to copy for him his celebrated picture of the battle of La Hogue. TRUMBULL composed and painted immediately afterwards, "Priam bearing back to his palace the body of Hector:" the success of which induced him to commence a project which had long been floating in his mind, of painting a series of pictures of the principal scenes of the revolution. He began with "The Battle of Bunker Hill," which was composed and finished in the early part of 1786, and "The Death of Montgomery before Quebec" immediately afterward. These pictures met with general approbation not only in London, but in Paris, Berlin, Dresden, and other parts of the continent, and as soon as possible they were placed in the hands of eminent engravers. To Mr. Adams in London, and Mr. Jefferson in Paris, while painting their portraits, the artist communicated his project of painting a series of national pictures, which they highly approved, and by their concurrence the subjects were chosen, several of which have since been executed. Finding the painting of Bunker Hill had given offence to some in London, and being desirous to conciliate, he determined to paint one subject from British history, and selected "The sortie of the garrison of Gibraltar." Of this subject, the first study was made in oil, twelve by sixteen inches; this was presented to Mr. West as an acknowledgment for his kindness; then a second,

twenty by thirty inches was carefully and laboriously finished, with the intention of having it engraved:* being tenacious of rendering the composition as perfect as in his power, he rejected that picture, and began another six feet by nine. This occupied the greater part of the year 1788, and in the spring of '89, it was exhibited by itself in Spring Garden, London, and received great applause. It was engraved by Sharp, the first engraver of the age; and has since been purchased by the Atheneum at Boston.

In the mean time, the present constitution of the United States had been framed, and the first session of congress was appointed to be held in New York, in December, 1789; the time had arrived, therefore, for proceeding with the American pictures. He arrived in New York in November of that year, and painted as many of the heads of the signers of the declaration of independence, as were present. Washington sat for his portrait at Trenton and Princeton, and in the summer of 1790, TRUMBULL painted a full length portrait of him for the city of New York. Two years after, he painted another full length of Washington, for the city of Charleston, South Carolina, and a third was purchased by the Connecticut Society of the Cincinnati, and presented to the college at New Haven. This latter picture is regarded by the artist, as the finest portrait of *General* Washington, in existence. It represents him at the most critical moment of his life—on the evening before the battle of Princeton, meditating his retreat from a superior enemy. A few other portraits were painted about this time, but the years 1791–2–3 were principally spent in painting original portraits for the historical pictures. In the accomplishment of his great design, he travelled from New Hampshire to Charleston, South Carolina. The heads in the small set of pictures, now at New Haven, were all painted at this period from the living men. Having accomplished his object of obtaining authentic portraits of all the subjects required, he again left his native land, in the capacity of private secretary to Mr. Jay, the envoy extraordinary to Great Britain, in 1794.

Difficulties had existed between the United States and Great Britain, ever since the war, of the most embarrassing character.

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* This picture was sold to Sir Francis Baring, for five hundred guineas, who contracted for the purchase of a series of pictures of American subjects, at the same price; subject to the contingency of the approbation of the higher powers. He found that the possession of the proposed pictures would give offence in a very high quarter, and he, therefore, retracted.

The negotiations ended in a treaty, signed November, 1794. The manner in which Mr. Jay conducted those negotiations, rendered the duties of the secretary merely nominal, and he had leisure to attend to the engraving of his three large copper plates, at that time in progress in London, and at Stutgard, in Germany, at an expense of upwards of three thousand guineas. After the treaty was signed, TRUMBULL went to Paris, and he soon saw from the condition of the continent that all hope of profit from the sale of engravings was at an end; in consequence of which, he gave up his professional pursuits, and embarked in commerce, until August, 1796, when he returned to England, and on the twenty-fifth of that month, he was appointed the fifth commissioner for the execution of the seventh article of Mr. Jay's treaty. This placed him in a new and difficult situation: the British commissioners, Sir John Nicholl and John Anstey, Esq., and the two Americans, Mr. Gore and Mr. Pinckney, were all distinguished lawyers. It was easy to foresee, that these gentlemen would frequently differ with respect to the rights of their respective countries; and it would remain with the fifth commissioner to decide; an arduous duty for one who had not been educated for the legal profession, and it placed him under the necessity of going through a course of reading, on the law of nations and maritime law.

Multitudes of complaints were made by the subjects of both nations, and were carefully examined and decisions made on each separate case, on its own merits. The commission was not concluded until the beginning of the year 1804. The number of cases examined amounted to between three and four hundred; and the amount awarded to be paid by the British government exceeded ten millions of dollars, which were punctually paid: the awards against the United States amounted to about half a million. In all cases of importance, written opinions were recorded; one copy of which is in the hands of Colonel TRUMBULL. The principles laid down and acted upon in those cases, will hereafter form an important part of the maritime law of nations, and have already been of value to many individuals, in the settlement of claims against the Russian and other governments. The important station of the fifth commissioner, who was the umpire between parties differing on almost every point, required all his skill to harmonize them, and it may, from the nature of the case, be concluded, that to his prudence and firmness the favorable results are to be mainly attributed.

In June, 1804, Colonel TRUMBULL returned to the United States, and resumed his pencil in New York. After a residence of about

four years, the embarrassment of commerce affected his profession so deeply, that he determined to seek employment abroad. He accordingly went to London, where he painted a number of pictures, with the hope of attracting some attention, but so unpopular was every thing American, that he failed completely. At the close of the war, he returned for the last time to New York, and in 1816 he was engaged by the government to paint the four large pictures now in the rotunda of the capitol at Washington, on which he was occupied seven years. Since which he has been principally employed in finishing his former sketches, and in painting copies of his national pictures, on a uniform scale of six feet by nine.

Finding the government not likely to order the complete series, nor any individual desirous to possess them, he has within the last year given the entire set of the original paintings to Yale college, and a building has been erected by "the President and Fellows" of that institution for their preservation.

He was elected President of the American Academy of the Fine Arts, in 1817, and has been annually reëlected to the same office.

The numerous incidents of Colonel TRUMBULL's life, have brought us to the boundary of our allotted space; but we should be held unpardonable by all who have the pleasure of his acquaintance, were we entirely to omit every mark of our high respect, beside that of placing his venerable head in our work. He indeed deserves more, much more than we can say in this place, for he is a living model of a by-gone generation, and is a fine example of the gentlemen of the old school; with a great degree of dignity and courtesy in his manners, he is strictly honorable, rigidly abstemious, frank in his address, and proud of his profession. From early youth to an advanced age, he has *blended* himself with the history of his country. We should say, that his name belongs equally to the past, the present, and the future, but, that we believe the future will give him a higher rank than either the present or the past. The sword, the pen, and the pencil, he has by turns drawn for his country—the sword and the pen were wielded in company with others, but as a painter of American history, he stands, even at the present day, almost alone, and however many, his equals, may arise, he will stand to all future time the first among them.

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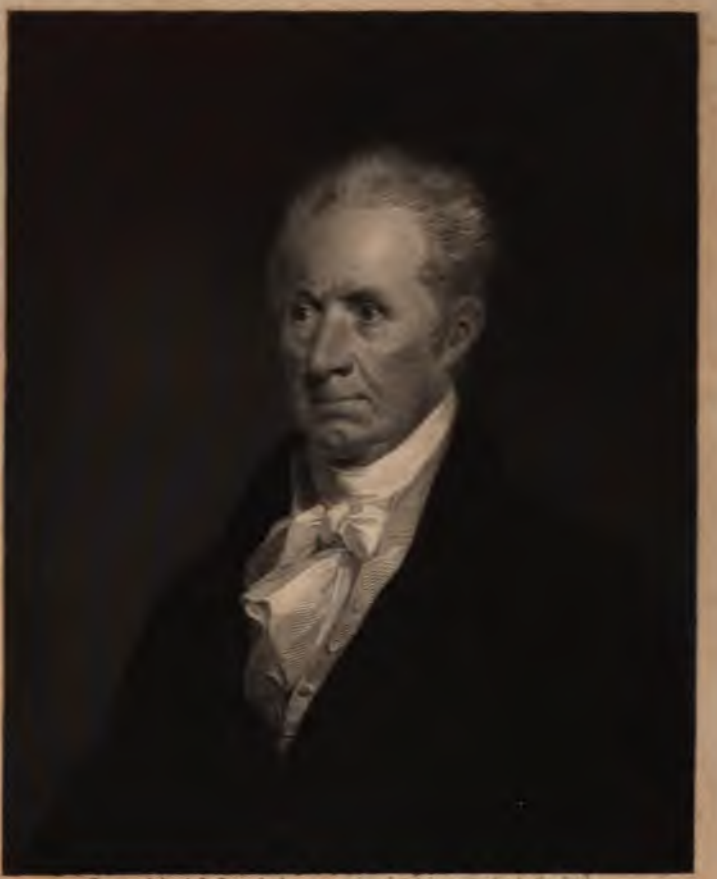

Engraved by A.B. Durand from an original Miniature by Isaak Goodrich.

GILBERT CHARLES STUART.

G C Stuart

Entered, according to the act of Congress in the year 1838 by Robert Dunlap, in the Clerks Office of the District Court of the Southern District of New York.

GILBERT CHARLES STUART.

In this biographical sketch of the life and character of Gilbert Charles Stuart, we shall avail ourselves of the very valuable information afforded us by the venerable Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse of Cambridge, the companion of his childhood and his youth, and the undeviating friend of his manhood and age; and of such other sources of information as are offered to us. Although our greatest portrait painter is but recently dead, already the place of his nativity is disputed, and contending towns claim the honour of producing this extraordinary genius; to Dr. Waterhouse we owe certainty on this head; and even the hour of his birth might not have been accurately determined, but that the painter has inscribed "G. Stuart, Pinxit, on his parent, A. D. 1778, Ætatis suæ 24," as a portrait painted by himself and presented to his friend, which remains a monument of his early skill, and is the more precious as it is the only portrait he ever painted of himself. This, of course, gives us the year of his birth, 1754.

Between the years 1746 and 1750, there came over from Great Britain to these English colonies a number of Scotch gentlemen, who had not the appearance of what is generally understood by the term emigrants, nor yet merchants or gentlemen of fortune. They came not in companies, but dropped in quietly, one after another. Their unassuming appearance and retired habits, bordering on the reserve, seemed to place them above the common class of British travellers. Their mode of life was snug, discreet, and respectable, yet elaborate. Some settled in Philadelphia, some in Perth Amboy, some in New York; but a greater proportion sat down at that pleasant and healthy spot, Rhode Island, called by its first lexicographer, Callender, "the Garden of America." Several of the emigrants was professional men; among these was Dr. Thomas Moffat, a learned physician of the Boerhaavean school; but, however learned, his dress and manners were so ill suited to the plainness of the inhabitants of Rhode Island, who were principally Quakers, that he

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could not make his way among them as a practitioner, and therefore he looked round for some other mode of genteel subsistence; and he hit upon that of cultivating tobacco and making snuff, to supply the place of the great quantity that was every year imported from Glasgow; but he could find no man in the country who he thought was able to make him a snuff mill. He therefore wrote to Scotland, and obtained a competent mill-wright, by the name of Gilbert Stuart.

Dr. Moffat selected for his mill seat a proper stream in that part of the colony of Rhode Island and Providence plantations which bore and still bears the Indian name of Narraganset, once occupied by the warlike tribe of the Pequot Indians, made familiar to us by the intensely interesting romance of our novelist, James Fenimore Cooper, under the title of the "Last of the Mohicans."

There, Gilbert Stuart, the father of the great painter, erected the first snuff mill in New England, and there he manufactured that strange article of luxury. He soon after built a house, and married a very handsome woman, daughter of a Mr. Anthony, a substantial farmer; and of this happy couple, at Narraganset, was born GILBERT CHARLES STUART; so *christened*, but the middle name, which betokens the jacobite principles of his father, was early dropped by the son, and never used in his days of notoriety; indeed, but for the signatures of letters addressed to his friend Waterhouse in youth, we should have no evidence that he ever bore more than the famous name of GILBERT STUART.

He is described to us by one of his school fellows as "a very capable, self-willed boy; handsome, forward, an only son, and habituated at home to have his own way in every thing, with little or no control of the easy, good natured father." He was about thirteen years old when he began to copy pictures, and at length attempted likenesses in black lead. There came to Newport about the year 1772, a Scotch gentleman named Cosmo Alexander; he was between fifty and sixty years of age, of delicate health, and prepossessing manners, apparently independent of the profession of painting, which ostensibly was his occupation, though it is believed that he, and several other gentlemen of leisure and observation from Britain, were travelling in this country for political purposes. From Mr. Alexander, young STUART first received lessons in the grammar of the art of painting, and after the summer spent in Rhode Island, he accompanied him to the South, and afterwards to Scotland. Mr. Alexander died not long after his arrival in Edinburgh, leaving his

pupil to the care of Sir George Chambers, who did not long survive him. Into whose hands our young artist fell after these disappointments, we know not, nor is it to be regretted, for the treatment he received was harsh, such as neither GILBERT STUART or his father ever mentioned. The young man returned to Newport, and after a time resumed his pencil.

Mr. Joseph Anthony, of Philadelphia, visited his sister, the mother of the painter, soon after GILBERT's return, and on going into his painting room, was surprised to find a striking likeness of his mother, Mrs. Anthony, the grandmother of the painter, who, although he had not seen her since he was twelve years of age, for he was no older at the time of her death, had, by the power of recollection, aided by kindred attachment, produced the likeness which now attracted the attention and gained the favor of his uncle. This faculty of preserving the images of those once known was one of the characteristics of STUART's genius.

Mr. Anthony, his family, and friends, sat for portraits to the young artist, who was now in the full tide of prosperity. About this time, the winter of 1773–4, he and his friend Waterhouse were fellow students in an academy for drawing, of their own formation. They hired a strong-muscled journeyman blacksmith, as their academy figure, at half a dollar the evening; and thus, probably, anticipated any other academical study from the naked figure in their country by many years.

Ardent as STUART's love of painting was, we have Dr. Waterhouse's authority for saying, that music divided his affections so equally with her sister, that it was difficult to say which was "the ruling passion." In the beginning of March, 1775, STUART's friend, Waterhouse, embarked for London, with the intention of pursuing his medical studies in the schools of Europe, and the young painter, probably finding his business interrupted by the approach of war, found means to follow, relying, as it would seem, upon the resources of his friend, for an introduction to the treasures of the British metropolis. He arrived in London in the latter end of November, when he found that Waterhouse had gone to Edinburgh, and he had not one acquaintance in this strange world, and no resource but his pencil and a letter to a Scotch gentleman, who received him kindly, and employed him to paint a picture for him, which, when his friend Waterhouse returned to London, in the summer of 1776, he found still unfinished on his easel.

During this period, when his father's business was broke up by

the events of the war in America, and the young painter was left to shift for himself, without experience or prudence, his skill in music, both practical and theoretical, stood him in stead, and gave him the means of subsistence in a manner as extraordinary as his character and actions were eccentric. While he was in this state of extreme poverty, without employment or the means of subsistence, walking the streets without any definite purpose, he passed by a church in Foster Lane, saw the door open, and several persons going in. He was attracted by the sound of the organ—he inquired at the door what was going on within, and was told, the vestry were making trial of several candidates for the situation of organist, the last incumbent having recently died. STUART entered the church, and encouraged, as he said, by a look of good nature in the countenance of one of the vestrymen, addressed him, and asked if a stranger might try his skill and become a candidate for the vacant place. His request was granted, and he had the pleasure to find that the time he had employed in making himself a musician, had not been thrown away. His playing was preferred to that of his rivals, and he was engaged at a salary which relieved present necessities, and enabled him to return to his studies as a painter. "When," says Mr. Charles Fraser, "Mr. STUART related this anecdote to me, he was sitting in his parlor, and to prove that he did not neglect the talent that had been so friendly to him in his yonth, and in the days of his adversity, he took his seat at a small organ in the room, and played several tunes with much feeling and execution."

On the return of his friend from Edinburgh, to pursue his studies by "walking the hospitals" in London, he had the pleasure of procuring several sitters for the young painter; but he could with difficulty keep him in that straight course which is so necessary to permanent prosperity.

Strange as it may appear, STUART was a long time in London without seeing, or being introduced to his great countryman, West. There appears to be no reason for this omission, and for not gaining access, for at least two years, to that source of instruction which was ever open to ,those who thirsted for knowledge, and more especially to Americans. At length, Dr. Waterhouse says, "After I had exhausted all my means of helping forward my ingenious friend and countryman, I called upon Mr. West, and laid open to him his situation." The consequence was, an invitation from Mr. West, and his continued friendship, support, and instruction.

Soon after this, STUART's friend, Waterhouse, went to Leyden, to

finish his studies, and they did not meet again until the painter removed from Washington to Boston; for the intermediate time, we have to look to other authorities, and one of the first is Colonel Trumbull, who on being introduced to Mr. West, in August, 1780, found STUART as his pupil. Mr. STUART uniformly said, that on application to Mr. West he was received with great benevolence; that nothing could exceed the attention of that distinguished artist to him, and when he saw that he was fitted for the field,—armed to contend with the best and the highest,—he advised him to commence his career professionally. While under Mr. West's roof, he became known to celebrated artists, and to the lords of the land. Dance admired and encouraged him, and presented his palette to him. His full length of Mr. Grant, skating, attracted great applause, and he, soon after taking rooms and setting up an independent easel, had his full share of the best business in London as a portrait painter; and as Colonel Trumbull has said, had prices equal to any, except Sir Joshua Reynolds and Gainsborough. It is the opinion of STUART'S contemporaries in London, that with common prudence he might have been the successor of Reynolds. He was *not* prudent; and found it convenient to visit Dublin, where he was received with Hibernian hospitality; delighting as much by his wit and conviviality as by his pencil.

In 1793 he returned to America. He embarked from Dublin, and arrived in New York, where he set up his easel, and was thronged with admirers and sitters. To gratify his desire to paint Washington, a desire which, he has said, brought him from the scene of his European success, he visited Philadelphia, and having been fully successful in his mission, he fixed his residence in that city and neighborhood for some years.

An eminent artist has said of STUART'S Washington: "And well is his ambition justified in the sublime head he has left us: a nobler personification of wisdom and goodness, reposing in the majesty of a serene conscience, is not to be found on canvass."

The writer of this necessarily short and imperfect sketch, who knew Washington, both as general and president, perfectly coincides with the above tribute of praise from a brother artist. When artists speak of STUART'S Washington, let it be remembered, that they mean the original picture, refused by the government of the United States, and purchased as an inestimable gem by the Athenæum, of Boston. The copies generally circulated, and the prints from Heath's workshop, in London, are libels equally on the painter and the hero.

Mr. STUART always considered the publication of this print, not only as injurious to his reputation, but as a piracy upon his property. When he saw the print exhibited for sale in Philadelphia, he could not restrain his just indignation.

While Mr. STUART was prosperously exercising his profession in Pennsylvania, we are informed that he purchased a farm at Potts-Grove, as a resting place for his family, but that the plan was not carried through with the prudence which conceived it. He removed to Washington, and was there as elsewhere, gladly welcomed. In 1805, he finally fixed himself at Boston, where he, with undiminished talents, exercised his profession until the day of his death. The portrait of John Adams, painted after the venerable patriot and president was upwards of eighty, has been the admiration of all who have seen it; and the painter's last work, the head of an intended full length of the ex-president, John Quincy Adams, is equal to any of the great painter's works, when he was in the prime of life and vigor of health.

The colloquial talents of GILBERT STUART were exerted as auxiliaries to his pencil. He had a fund of wit inexhaustible, and of anecdote, or historical knowledge, his reading and his memory furnished him with an everlasting store. His early friend, Dr. Waterhouse, has thus characterized and described that power and art with which he fascinated his sitters, making them forget the confinement of the "painter's chair," and drawing forth the inmost soul upon the surface of the countenance, while he fixed it on his canvass by the magic of his colors. "In conversation and confabulation, he was inferior to no man. He always made it a point to keep those talking who were sitting to him for their portraits, each in their own way, free and easy. This called up all his resources of judgment. To military men, he spoke of battles by sea and land. With the statesman, on Hume's and Gibbon's History—with the lawyer, in *his* way—the merchant in *his* way, and with the ladies, in all ways. When putting the rich farmer on the canvass, he would go along with him from seed time to harvest time—then he would descant on the nice points of a fine horse, ox, cow, sheep, or pig, and surprise him with his just remarks on the progress of making cheese and butter, and astonish him with his profound knowledge of manures, or the food of plants. As to national cha racter and individual character, few men could say more to the purpose, as far as history and acute personal observation would carry him. He had wit at will, always ample, sometimes redundant, remarkably so, after his long sojourn in Ireland."

His friend, Waterhouse, was disposed to attribute STUART's undue attachment to the pleasures of the table and convivial society, to his residence on the Emerald Isle; but he carried all his propensities and resources for smoothing the road to ruin with him, from the centre of all dissipation, as well as all rational enjoyment, London. Of STUART, as of some others, it may be said in the common phraseology of mankind, "he had every kind of sense but common sense." He had knowledge enough to have guided an empire, and did not pilot his own frail vessel into port, even when wind and tide were with him.

Nature had bestowed on GILBERT STUART her choicest gifts. His mind and body were of the most powerful, and the best endowed, for active exertion or ponderous labor—for grasping the minute or the vast—for relishing the beauties of art or diving into the profundities of science. These gifts, when used, lead to fortune, fame, and happiness; and their possessor is blessed with equanimity and cheerfulness—when abused, the result is disappointment, poverty, disease, self-reproach, and occasional misanthropy. It is a vulgar error, that genius and imprudence have a natural alliance. The contrary is the fact. Eminent genius may be, has been, misled; but the *most* eminent are bright proofs that genius and virtue are by nature allied, and that the imprudent man of great talents is the *exception* to the rule.

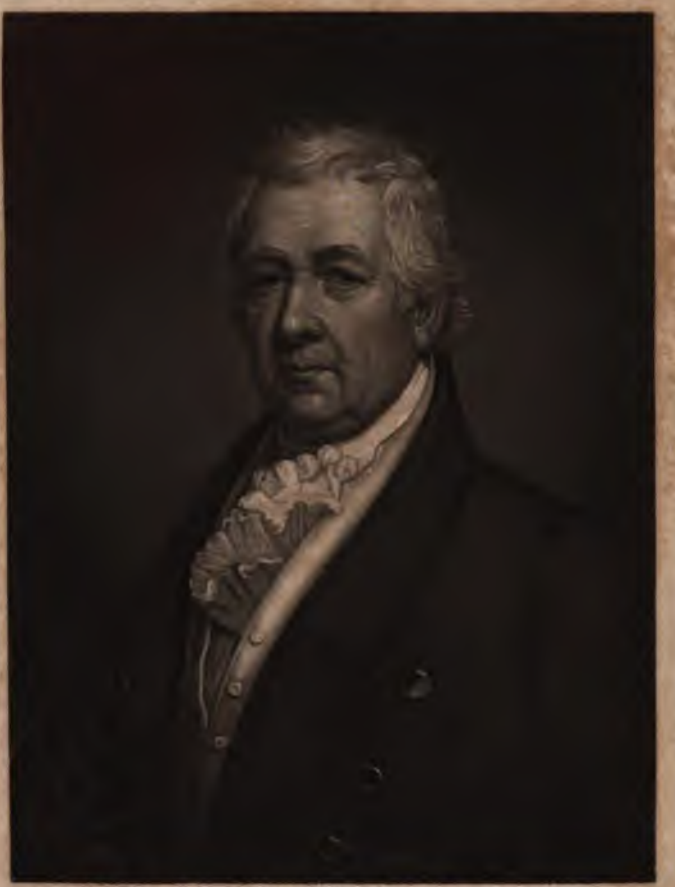
Certain it is, that GILBERT STUART did not watch and properly turn to his advantage that "tide in the affairs of men, which taken at the flood, leads on to fortune," and it is equally certain, that the neglect involved him in the "shoals and shallows" which the great philosophic poet tells us, is the inevitable consequence. He returned to New England, (after shining with the splendor of a sun and the irregularity of a meteor, in England, Ireland, and the central portions of the United States,) to finish his eccentric career, without that brilliancy which fortune bestows, but with undiminished fame and unrivalled excellence as an artist, to the last days of his existence; dying at the advanced age of seventy-four, in the month of July, 1828, regretted by all who knew him, and leaving, "a void" "in the world of art," "which will not soon be filled."

We cannot conclude this brief memoir better than in the words of an eminent artist, whose language bears the impress of truth, judgment, and feeling. The "glimpses of character" which STUART elicited from his sitters by his colloquial powers, "mixed as they are in all men with so much that belongs to their age and associates, would

have been of little use to an ordinary observer; for the faculty of distinguishing between the accidental and the permanent, in other words, between the conventional expression which arises from *manners*, and that more subtle indication of the individual mind, is indeed no common one: and by no one with whom we are acquainted, was their faculty possessed in so remarkable a degree. It was this which enabled him to animate his canvass—not with the appearance of mere general life, but with that peculiar distinctive life, which separates the humblest individual from his kind. He seemed to dive into the thoughts of men—for they were made to rise and speak on the surface." "In his happier efforts, no one ever surpassed him in embodying (if we may so speak,) those transient apparitions of the soul. Of this, not the least admirable instance is his portrait, painted within the last four years, (when the painter was upwards of seventy,) of the late President Adams; whose then bodily tenement seemed rather to present the image of some dilapidated castle, than that of the habitation of the 'unbroken mind;' but not such is the picture; called forth as from its crumbling recesses, the living tenant is there—still ennobling the ruin, and upholding it, as it were, by the strength of his own life. In this venerable ruin, will the unbending patriot and the gifted artist speak to posterity of the first glorious century of our republic."

In a word, GILBERT STUART was, in its widest sense, a *philosopher* in his art: he thoroughly understood its principles, as his works bear witness, whether as to the harmony of colors or of lines, or of light and shadow—showing that exquisite sense of *a whole*, which only a man of genius can realize and embody.

We cannot close this brief notice without a passing record of his generous bearing towards his professional brethren. He never suffered the manliness of his nature to darken with the least shadow of jealousy; but where praise was due, he gave it freely, and gave it, too, with a grace which showed that, loving excellence for its own sake, he had a pleasure in praising. To the younger artists, he was uniformly kind and indulgent, and most liberal of his advice; which no one ever properly asked but he received, and in a manner no less courteous than impressive. Well may his country say, "a great man has passed from amongst us;" but GILBERT STUART has bequeathed her what is paramount to *power*—since no power can command it—the rich inheritance of his fame.



Engraved by Gimbrede & Dick for Presentation of the N.Y. Lyceum. from a Painting by E. Jansen

SAMUEL. L. MITCHILL. M.D. L.L.D.

Sam L Mitchill

according to an Act of Congress in the year 1832 by James Herring of the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the Southern District of New York

SAMUEL LATHAM MITCHILL, M.D. LL.D.

"Omnibus scientiarum circulis non se laplicantem."

Barbosa.

The medical profession, distinguished, as it has been in all ages, by the learning and talents of its members, is destined, we trust, to receive new honors in this free republic of the United States. Less conspicuous in the public eye than the jurisconsult, less imposing in private life than the teacher of religion, the physician has yet risen, in the enlightened nations of England and France, to a parity at least with his rival brethren; though these last have been largely supported by liberal patronage, and strengthened by governmental authority. In bringing about this revolution, much is due to the great events which have signalized the history of the present generation—still more to the enlightened spirit of the age. It was the boast of the late illustrious emperor of France, that during his administration of its government, the road to public honors and rewards was equally open to every member of the state. By this liberal policy, not only each individual assumed his natural rank, but each class of society rose to its natural importance. The perfect liberality of our institutions, both national and social, and the freedom of access to every situation in life to the humblest individual, have produced among us a universal spirit of emulation, which brings forward the talents of all to the public service. The distinguished character, whose life and services these pages are designed briefly to sketch, is a striking instance of the truth of these remarks. Under an absolute government he had been only an eminent physician; under our more liberal system, he was besides an important actor in its national concerns.

Samuel Latham Mitchill was born in North Hempstead, (Plandome,) Queens county, Long Island, N. Y., on the 20th of August, 1764. In this village his father, Robert Mitchill, of English descent, was an industrious farmer of the society of Friends. He died in 1789, leaving behind him six sons and two daughters, most of

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whom he lived to see reputably settled in life. Agricultural pursuits became for the most part their occupation, and industry and economy were the characteristics common to them all. In the subject of this memoir, who was the third son, were early remarkable those habits of observation and reflection, which were destined to elevate him to an enviable distinction among his contemporaries. Fortunately for mankind, his talents and laudable ambition met a discerning and liberal patron in his maternal uncle, Dr. Samuel Latham, a skilful and intelligent medical practitioner in his native village. The resources of this gentleman happily enabled him to enter upon and complete that system of education, which the limited income and numerous family of his parents of necessity denied. Of this uncle he always spoke with becoming gratitude and ardent affection. At an early age he was placed under the direction of Dr. Leonard Cutting, a graduated scholar of the university of Cambridge, England; whom an attachment to the principles of liberty had induced to visit our shores, and in whom the polished habits of the gentleman were happily blended with a profound and extensive erudition. With this excellent instructer he continued for several years, and with him acquired an intimate acquaintance with classical literature, which constituted one of the favorite amusements of his leisure hours throughout his subsequent life. It is due to this kind preceptor to state, that he early predicted the future eminence of his pupil, and contributed by his praise and direction to its fulfilment. After acquiring a partial knowledge of the elementary principles of medicine with Dr. Latham, he removed to the city of New York in 1780, and became a pupil of Dr. Samuel Bard, with whom he continued about three years. The condition of New York was at this period little favorable to intellectual cultivation. The humble institutions which the pious and enlightened liberality of our fathers had erected to letters were appropriated to arms, scholastic exercises suspended, and their professors dispersed. The state had been long struggling with its unnatural parent, and the efforts of patriotism for a time superseded the pursuits of science and literature. King's, now Columbia college, had become a military hospital, its chambers occupied by the sick and wounded soldiers of the British army; and the New York hospital converted into a barracks by the enemy, who then held possession of the city. Notwithstanding these unpropitious circumstances, he continued his medical studies, and had free access to the circles who visited the house of his medical preceptor.

In the twentieth year of his age, Mr. MITCHILL was happily

enabled to avail himself of the advantages held out by the university of Edinburgh, at that time adorned by the talents of Cullen, Black, and Monro. Here students from all parts of the civilized world repaired, as to the most able seat of medical learning then in Europe; and of nearly a thousand youths, many of whom have risen to the first distinctions in science and letters, the talents and diligence of MITCHILL acquired for him general applause, and an undivided esteem and regard. The late Sir James Mackintosh and Thomas Addis Emmet, who have since acquired such eminence in other pursuits, were among his friends and compeers; and we have the testimony of the last named excellent individual, that no student of the university exhibited greater tokens of promise. After a residence of about four years, at the end of which, in 1786, he received the honors of the profession, he made a short excursion into England and France, and returned to his native country, then rapidly recovering from the disastrous effects of the revolutionary contest.

On his return to his native state, Dr. MITCHILL, with a consequent interruption to his medical studies, devoted a portion of his time to acquire a knowledge of the laws and constitution of his country, under the direction of Robert Yates, at that time chief justice of the state of New York. The result was a fixed and unalterable attachment in him to those principles which, triumphantly asserted at Saratoga and Yorktown, and since embodied in the constitution of the United States, became the corner-stone of new institutions, sacred to the rights and best interests of mankind. By the influence of the chief justice, he was employed in the commission for holding a treaty with the Iroquois Indians, and was present at the adjustment made at Fort Stanwix, 1788, in which the right to a large portion of the western district was purchased for the benefit of the government. During this period he extensively explored the frontiers of New York and Canada, and seems also to have been engaged in various matters of a political character. His experiments on the mineral waters of Saratoga, which he subsequently re-investigated, appear to have contributed to the extensive celebrity which those waters have since obtained.

His appointment to the chair of chemistry and agriculture in Columbia college, marks the confidence of his friends in his abilities; and from this school he first made known to his countrymen the new theory of chemistry recently matured by the genius of Lavoisier and his associates. The admirable nomenclature, the scientific arrangement of this system, together with its brilliant results, form

an era in chemical philosophy, and an important chapter in the history of the human mind. The doctor was wont to repeat with much complacency this happy commencement of his professorial career. He was, however, far from adopting all the principles of Lavoisier; and in a memoir published shortly after, he presented a modified system, which involved him in a controversy with the celebrated Priestley, then recently arrived on our shores. It is to the honor of these distinguished individuals, that the disputation was conducted with mutual courtesy, and ended in a personal friendship, which terminated only with the life of the great founder of pneumatic chemistry.

From his connection with many of the chief officers of the state government, and particularly with Chancellor Livingston and Simeon De Witt, originated the Society for the Promotion of Agriculture, Manufactures, and the Useful Arts. Before this body he delivered their first public address, which made its appearance in the first volume of their Transactions. This society, which consisted of the members of both houses of the legislature, and of such other individuals as interested themselves in agricultural pursuits, was incorporated at his instance, and has proved by its various publications a valuable aid in unfolding the native resources of the commonwealth. His mineralogical survey of the state of New York, undertaken in 1796, under the direction of this institution, forms a memorable event in his career, and first laid the basis of his reputation with the philosophers of Europe, which continued from this time thenceforth to increase. This report was probably the first attempt in mineralogical study in America, and led the way to the more ample investigations of Maclure, Godon, Cleaveland, Dana, Van Rensselaer, and others. It has often been referred to with approbation by the savans of Europe.* He contributed at times local sketches of a like character of different parts of the country to various scientific journals; and it has furnished occasion of regret that so competent an observer had not more fully prosecuted these meritorious researches. Throughout his life he was a persistent believer in the Wernerian hypothesis, and contended that the most luminous evidences of its truth were found in the formations of the western hemisphere.

The New York Medical Repository originated in 1797, under the editorial career of Samuel L. Mitchill, in connection with Dr.

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* See Volney's View of the United States.

Edward Miller and Elihu H. Smith. Of this journal he was the chief editor for more than sixteen years, during the greater part of which period it was the general vehicle of science in the new world. It was enriched from time to time with the ample treasures of his knowledge, and with ingenious speculations in almost every branch of philosophy. The critical department was for the most part conducted with urbanity and good feeling. Few writers, whose works were subjected to its critical ordeal, could fairly complain of its decisions; and though a strenuous advocate for certain theories, and firm in gladiatorial controversy, its pages were seldom marked by want of candor or undeserved censure. It was the first periodical work of a scientific description that appeared in the United States.

In 1807, the act of the legislature empowering the regents of the university to establish a college of physicians and surgeons in the city of New York took effect; and upon the organization of this school, Dr. MITCHILL was appointed the professor of chemistry, which, however, his public duties obliged him to resign. In the following year, he was elected to the chair of natural history, in the same institution. In this science, so congenial to his taste and habits, and in which he was acknowledged to be without a rival among his countrymen, he delivered courses of instruction for twelve successive years, with eminent success. Of these lectures, which embraced the extensive regions of mineralogical, botanical, and zoological inquiry, he published an outline, which exhibited a compass of thought, and a capacity for generalization, for which he was little accredited by the censorious.

The reorganization of the college in 1820 occasioned a new disposition of professorships, when Dr. MITCHILL was commissioned by the regents as professor of materia medica and botany. In this capacity he continued his professorial labors until 1826, when, with his colleagues, he resigned all connection with an institution, the interests of which he had promoted nearly twenty years. The gradual and steady success of this school of medicine, in opposition to a powerful rival, is an honorable evidence of the talents and well-directed efforts of its teachers. It may be sufficient to observe, that it opened in 1807 with fifty-three students; that for a while there existed in the city two other institutions, which at length yielded to its superiority; and that for several years it was attended by two hundred students. Difficulties having at length arisen between the trustees and the professors, the latter withdrew in a body from an institution, which, under their exertions, had been elevated to rival-

ship with the oldest medical school in the country. In common with his colleagues, he received, upon his resignation, the thanks of the regents of the university, for the faithful and able manner in which he had discharged his duties as instructer and lecturer in the college. In the new college, which was immediately thereafter formed, under the name of Rutgers Medical College, Dr. MITCHILL was appointed to the office of vice president.

The political career of Dr. MITCHILL, which began as early as 1790, as a representative in the state legislature from his native county of Queens, was scarcely less brilliant or less beneficial to his fellow-citizens than his services in the cause of science and philosophy; and his name, as a member of the legislature, and representative and senator in the national congress, is honorably associated with many of the most conspicuous and important public transactions. Adopting the views of those who construe most strictly the powers conferred upon the general government by the constitution, he for the most part acted with those who were designated by the name of the republican, in opposition to the federal, party. His courtesy and amenity of manners were always conspicuous; and though a leading member at a period of exasperated political feeling, he abstained from every species of intolerance towards his political opponents, without forfeiting his popularity with his political friends. It is with pleasure we record the name of Dr. MITCHILL among those who first gave impulse and activity to that splendid system of internal improvement, which has given renown to New York, and rendered her a brilliant example to her sister states. We refer to the statute of her legislature in 1798, which conferred on Chancellor Livingston the exclusive right to navigate by steam the waters of New York. This bill owed much to the zeal and assiduity of Dr. MITCHILL, arrayed against a host of scoffing and sneering opponents. The projected attempt was at this time unsuccessful, but by the united exertions of Livingston and Fulton, eventuated in those magnificent efforts in steam navigation, which have changed the internal commerce of nations.

In the congress of the United States, both as representative and senator, the bills for reducing the required term of residence for foreigners from fourteen to five years, on modified quarantine and health laws, on salt duties, were a few among the many subjects which called forth a happy display of his varied information and persuasive elocution. His knowledge of the political relations of the American confederation, and familiarity with its statistics, rendered

him at all times a most useful member, both in the house and in committee: those who expected to see in him the mere abstract philosopher, were delighted to find in him the highest social qualities, and a research which scarcely any subject of human inquiry had eluded.

In 1799, Dr. MITCHILL was united in matrimony to the daughter of Samuel Akerly, Mrs. Catharine Cock, his amiable partner and lamenting survivor. In the domestic relations of life, as husband, brother, and friend, his zeal and affection were exemplary and disinterested.

Dr. MITCHILL derived from nature a hardy and robust constitution, but occasionally labored under a bronchial affection, to which he acquired a predisposition, from an attack of inflammation in early life. He died after a short but severe illness, in the 67th year of his age, on the 7th of September, 1831, at his residence in the city of New York. His funeral was honored by the attendance of a large and respectable body of his fellow-citizens.

Dr. MITCHILL was member of innumerable scientific societies. Of the Lyceum of Natural History, of New York, he was the founder, and for many years its president. He enriched its annals with many contributions, and still further displayed his zeal in behalf of his favorite pursuit, by a donation to them of a large portion of his valuable cabinet.

Of his numerous writings, a large part relate to subjects of transient interest, or of technical science. These we shall neither attempt to enumerate nor to characterize. Among his most elaborate productions are, his Addresses before the State Agricultural Society, his correspondence with Priestley, his Chart of Chemical Nomenclature, his Introduction to Darwin's Zoonomia, his paper on the alkaline properties of the water of the ocean, in the American Philosophical Transactions; his Discourse before the New York Historical Society on the Botanical History of North and South America; a paper on the fishes that inhabit the waters of New York, in the Transactions of the Literary and Philosophical Society of New York; his Appendix to Cuvier's Theory of the Earth; his Biographical Discourses on Dr. Bard and on Thomas A. Emmet.

As a lecturer, simple, plain, and didactic, he arrested the attention of his auditors by his ample and ready knowledge of his subject, and by a fund of apt and characteristic anecdotes. In his excursions through different sections of the United States, and during his residence at Washington, he had become intimately acquainted with many of the more interesting portions of our country, and with the

various character of our countrymen; and no small part of the interest of his lectures consisted in reminiscences connected with these circumstances of his life.

Reference has been already made to his early attainments in the literature of Greece and Rome; evidences, indeed, of classical taste were to be found in almost all his compositions, both written and oral; and he had been known and acknowledged as one of our most eminent writers, had he not become still more conspicuous as an adept in natural curiosities. That vivacious and fertile imagination, which was usefully occupied with the bones of the mastodon and the Wernerian formation, might have illustrated and illuminated the paths of literature. We refer for the evidences of this opinion to his admirable discourse before the New York Horticultural Society, which the scholar may consult for the beauty of its style, and the agriculturist for the useful lessons it imparts.

For about twenty years, Dr. MITCHILL acted as one of the physicians of the New York Hospital; and his diligence and attention to the duties this office imposed, when not called from the city by other obligations, were marked and exemplary. Nor was he deficient, notwithstanding his multifarious pursuits, in the practical knowledge of disease. Those who were accustomed to regard him as a mere theorist, by personal intercourse perceived in him the acute clinical observer of the different phases of disease. Like Darwin and Cullen, he judiciously, when at the bed-side, rejected speculations, and trusted to observation and experience as the only safe guides.

In assigning to Dr. MITCHILL an eminent rank among the cultivators of natural science, we are fully warranted by the authority of those who have preeminently excelled in this branch of knowledge. The illustrious Cuvier, both in his lectures and in his printed writings, referred to him in terms of signal approbation. More recently the ornithologist Audubon has bestowed on him the tribute of his applause. Let it be recollected, that his knowledge was acquired not among the facilities of a royal or imperial cabinet, but amid the fatigues of travel, and while resident among a population little disposed to speculative investigation, or to regard his pursuits with favor or reward. Though justly deemed the Nestor of American science, he bore the honors which thickened around him meekly, if not unobtrusively, and ever showed himself ready to aid the diligent inquirer by counsel and encouragement. It has happened to few men to pass through life with less of censure, or with a more fixed and unchanged approbation.

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Engd by F. Dankworth

THEODRIC ROMEYN BECK, M.D.

Entered according to Act of the Congress in the Year 1844 by James Herring in the Clerks Office of the District Court of the Southern District of New York

In 1815, he was appointed Professor of [illegible]
and Lecturer on Medical Jurisprudence, in the college of Physicians

Entered according to Act of Congress in the Year 1834 by James Herring in the Clerk's Office of the District
Court of the Southern District of New York

THEODRIC ROMEYN BECK, M.D.

It is not always the men who shine with the most brilliancy before the world, and occasionally astonish our senses with their exploits, who are really the most useful, or the most worthy.

The life of a professional man, unlike that of the statesman or the warrior, affords but few incidents calculated to excite interest, or allure attention. It is not on that account, however, less worthy of record, or barren of utility.

The subject of the present memoir, as one of the most successful of American medical authors, seems justly entitled to a place, in a work designed to perpetuate the names of those who have distinguished themselves, by their talents or their erudition.

Theodric Romeyn Beck was born of highly respectable parents, on the eleventh of August, 1791, at Schenectady, in the state of New York. His grandfather was the Reverend Theodric Romeyn, D.D., one of the professors of theology in the Reformed Dutch Church, and one of its most distinguished ornaments. The rudiments of Doctor Beck's education were received at the grammar school in his native place; and, in 1803, he entered Union college, an institution which had been established a few years previously, principally through the agency and active exertions of his grandfather. In 1807 he was graduated, and commenced the study of medicine under the late Doctors M'Clelland and Low, of Albany. His medical education was afterwards completed under the care of Doctor David Hosack, of New York, in which place he attended the lectures of the college of Physicians and Surgeons, and obtained from the institution the degree of Doctor of Medicine in 1811; on which occasion he wrote and published an inaugural dissertation on "Insanity." Immediately on his graduation, he commenced the practice of his profession in the city of Albany.

In 1815, he was appointed Professor of the Institutes of Medicine and Lecturer on Medical Jurisprudence, in the college of Physic-

and Surgeons of the western district of the state of New York, a station which he has held ever since. As this appointment did not require his absence from Albany during any very considerable portion of the year, he still continued to practice medicine in that place. This, however, did not long continue; and in a short time, owing to an apprehension that his health was inadequate to the arduous duties of practice, and perhaps, also, to a superior and growing fondness for literary pursuits, he abandoned completely the practical exercise of his profession, and in 1817, accepted the situation of principal of the Albany Academy.

This institution, in every thing but the name, is on an equality with many of the colleges of our country. With a building distinguished for its architectural beauty, erected by the public authorities of the city, and aided by able professors in various departments, under the superintendence of Doctor Beck it has attained a high and deserved rank among the literary institutions of our country.

It is as an author, however, that the subject of this memoir is mainly distinguished. In 1813, he delivered the annual address before the Society of Arts, of Albany, *On the Mineralogical Resources of the United States.* This we believe was the earliest systematic account of the mineral wealth of our country, and the production, which was published, received from various quarters the most respectful notice.

In 1823, Doctor Beck published his work entitled "Elements of Medical Jurisprudence," in two volumes, octavo; which, at the time, attracted great attention, and has since continued a standard work on the subject of which it treats. The science of medical jurisprudence is one of great interest and importance. It treats of all those questions in which the testimony of a medical man may be required before courts of justice, and from the nature of many of the questions, it is obvious that their discussion requires the widest range of medical and scientific knowledge. Although deeply studied in Italy, France, and Germany, this science had scarcely attracted any attention, either in this country or in England, previously to the publication of the work of Doctor Beck. To him is certainly due the high credit, not merely of rousing public attention to an important and neglected subject, but also of presenting a work upon it which probably will never be entirely superseded. In foreign countries, its merits have been duly appreciated and magnanimously acknowledged. The Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal says of it—

"Under the unassuming title of Elements of Medical Jurispru-

dence, Doctor BECK has presented us with a comprehensive system, which embraces almost every valuable fact or doctrine relating to it. Each of its diversified departments has been investigated so minutely, that few cases can occur in practice, on which it will be necessary to seek elsewhere for farther information. At the same time, by studying succinctness, and shunning those verbose oratorical details with which other writers, and particularly those of France, abound, he has succeeded in rendering his treatise comprehensive within a singularly moderate compass. We may securely assert, that a work on the subject is not to be found in any language, which displays so much patient and discriminating research, with so little of the mere ostentation of learning. The opinions expressed both on general principles and on the particular questions which have occurred in courts of law, are given clearly and judiciously. There are few occasions, even where the points at issue are difficult and obscure, on which persons of skill and experience will be disposed to differ materially with him."

In the various medical colleges of Great Britain there has been, we believe, no text book on medical jurisprudence positively adopted; but we have been informed that Doctor BECK's work has been for years recommended to students by professors.

In 1828, it was translated into German at Weimar, and has been favorably received in various parts of the continent of Europe.

It is not alone the physician and the jurist who are indebted to Doctor BECK for this essential work; but it has proved to the general reader, we believe invariably, a fund of interesting information; and we will venture to say, that no one has ever risen from its perusal without experiencing an agreeable surprise, that a subject so uninviting in its title, should afford so much amusement. The remarks of a writer in Blackwood's Magazine agree so well with our own experience, that we cannot do better than adopt them. "The ignorant state in which jurymen continually come to the consideration of points of medical evidence on criminal trials, is lamentable. In regard to men of any habits of reading, it is really sinful, and certainly not the less so, because the works which they ought to read and master, happen to be about the most interesting and amusing books in the world."

Doctor BECK is one of the founders and active supporters of the Albany institute, a scientific and literary association, which has already published the first volume of its Transactions, highly creditable to itself and to its members.

NATIONAL PORTRAITS.

Of the personal qualities of the subject of this memoir, it is perhaps hardly fit to speak. Suffice it to say, he is universally respected and esteemed. Unpretending in his manners and studious in his habits, the voice of praise has not rendered him arrogant or indolent, and the science of his country has much yet to hope from his labors and learning.

Painted by C.R. Leslie R.A. Engraved by M.J. Danforth.

WASHINGTON IRVING.

Washington Irving

Entered according to Act of Congress in the Year 1838 by James Herring in the Clerks Office of the District Court of the Southern District of New York

ance; nor had that ardent competition, that steels the heart against all but selfish feelings, been awakened. That system of instruction,

WASHINGTON IRVING.

The subject of our memoir was the youngest son of a gentleman of Scottish birth, who was long settled in the city of New York, where he exercised the profession of a merchant, and enjoyed the respect and esteem of his contemporaries for his unblemished integrity and unassuming worth. Losing his father at an early age, the care of his education devolved upon his mother and his elder brothers. Some of the latter had already distinguished themselves for their literary taste and ability as writers, while their younger brother was yet a child. In their society he began, at an early period, the practice of composition, and may be almost said to have commenced his education where others are accustomed to finish it. We have been informed, that he manifested in his youth a meditative and almost melancholy disposition; not, however, without occasional and brilliant flashes of the humor that is the distinctive character of his most successful compositions. This disposition did not prevent him from entering with spirit into many of the pranks of his comrades, or even from becoming the plotter and ringleader in many a scheme of merry mischief.

The youth of the city of New York were then a happy race. Their place of residence had not yet assumed its metropolitan character, and the freedom and ease of almost rural life, were blended with the growing refinements of an increasing population. The advantageous position of its port made wealth flow rapidly into its merchants' coffers, and the natives of other parts of our country had not yet begun to colonize it, and compete for a share of its growing riches. The elder members of the community, seeing their property increasing almost without knowing why, had not yet perceived the necessity of drilling their children to habits of early labor and premature prudence. The gambling spirit that characterized one era of the commercial history of New York, had not yet made its appearance; nor had that ardent competition, that steels the heart against all but selfish feelings, been awakened. That system of instruction,

which confines children for six hours a day in almost listless inactivity in a school room, and then dismisses them, to pursue their labors unassisted for even a longer time, was not yet invented. School-masters yet thought it their duty to instruct; and when their unruly subjects were emancipated from direct control, they had no other thought but to spend the rest of the day in active sport, and the night in slumbers, undisturbed by the dread of the morrow's task.

For the enjoyment of these vacant hours, the vicinity of New York then offered the most inviting opportunities. A few minutes' walk brought the youth of the city into open and extensive pastures, diversified by wood and sheets of transparent water; on either hand flowed noble rivers, whose quiet waters invited even the most timid to acquire "the noblest exercise of strength;" when winter made such recreations impracticable, sheets of smooth and glittering ice spread themselves out to tempt the skater, and the youth of the Manhattoes rivalled, if not excelled, the glories of their Dutch father-land, in the speed and activity with which they glided over the glassy surface.

It may be the partial recollection of our infancy, but it is not less the firm conviction of our minds, that in all our wanderings, we have seen no city, with the exception of the "Queen of the North," whose environs possessed natural beauties equal to those of New York. These beauties have now vanished—paved streets and piles of tasteless brick have covered the grassy slopes and verdant meadows; the lofty hills have been applied to the ignoble purpose of filling up the neighboring lakes. Nor should we complain of these changes, but consider the prosperity, of which they are an evidence, as more than equivalent to the destruction of wild and rural beauty, in those places where a crowded population has actually found its abode; but we cannot tolerate that barbarism that makes beauty consist in straight lines and right angles, cuts our whole island into oblong squares, and considers, that to convert the fertile surface into a barren and sandy waste, is the only fit preparation for an increasing city. The blossomed orchards of Bayard and Delancey have given place to snug brick houses, the sylvan deities have fled the groves of Peters' field and Rose hill, and we can rejoice; but why should the flowery vales of Bloomendahl be cut up by streets and avenues? Nor has the spirit of devastation stopped here, but has invaded the whole neighborhood, until the antres and cliffs of Hoboken have given place to a rail-road.

The early fancies of Mr. IRVING were deeply impressed with the beauty of the natural scenery of the island of Manhattan. These

impressions have given birth to many and choice passages in his various works. But, aware that such romantic fancies might come with an ill grace from one hackneyed in the ways of our commercial and prosaic city, he has given being to a personage, in whose mouth they become the utterance of patriotic virtue.

New York, at that time, presented the singular spectacle of races distinct in origin, character, and temper, struggling, as it were, for ascendency; and although the struggle finally terminated happily, in the utter confusion of all such distinctions, and the formation of a single civic character, it was not the less apparent. Wasted, too, as was the anger and anxiety the struggle occasioned upon the most petty objects, it presented, to a mind highly sensible to the ludicrous, most amusing matter of contemplation. First and most marked, were to be seen the descendants of the original settlers from Holland, retaining, in their own separate intercourse, the language and habits of their ancestors, indulging the hereditary grudge of a conquered people to its subduers, although moderated and tempered by native kindness and good nature. Next was to be remarked the New Englander, distinguished by his intelligence and activity, and just beginning to enter into that rivalry with the Batavian, that has ended in a disappearance, almost total, of patronymic names of the latter from the streets in which business is transacted. Before the superior energy and restless enterprise of this race, the Dutch were beginning to quail, and retaliated for the loss of business, to which they were exposed, by outward expressions of contempt, and inward feelings of dread and apprehension. Last, and least numerous, but at the time most distinguished for wealth and mercantile influence, was to be seen a clan of Scots. These were shrewd, calculating, and enterprising; but mixed with their habits of business and economy much hospitality, and unchecked, but harmless conviviality. Accustomed from his infancy to the contemplation of the character of this race in his father and his associates, its peculiarities have not struck him as an object for delineation, or filial reverence has forbidden him to attempt it. Its habits and manners have, however, evidently served to bring out in higher relief the peculiarities of the other races.

Mr. Irving had hardly reached the age of manhood when he appeared to be threatened with a pulmonary affection, as a preventive of which, it was considered expedient that he should visit the south of Europe. He therefore embarked in a vessel bound for the Mediterranean, and was landed on the southern coast of Sicily. Hence he crossed that island to Palermo, whence he proceeded to Naples,

and after making a journey through Italy and France, reached England. This voyage, undertaken with far different views than those which now usually direct the travels of young Americans, was also wholly different in its course, and in the impressions it was likely to produce. Instead of a gradual preparation for the views of the old world, by a passage through countries connected by ties of blood and language, or familiar to him in consequence of an active and frequent commerce, he was transported, as if in a moment, to lands where, in direct contrast to the continual strides his own country is making, every thing is torpid, and even retrograde; lands in which the objects of interest are rather the glories of by-gone ages, than any thing that the present era can exhibit. His first views of Europe exhibited the gigantic ruins of Agrigentum, the remains of a polished, wealthy, and numerous people, buried in a desert waste, and surrounded only by comparative barbarism and poverty. No change of scene more abrupt can well be imagined, and none more likely to excite the mind of youthful genius. For the guide books and tours of modern travellers, that are the usual manuals of a tourist, it became necessary to substitute the writings of the ancients. These would be most favorably studied upon the very spots where they were written, or of which they treat, and even when consulted in a mere translation, cannot fail to improve and refine the taste. In the fine scenery of Calabria, he recognised the studies of Salvator Rosa, and in his progress through Italy, luxuriated in the treasures of ancient and modern art, then almost a sealed book to his countrymen.

Before his departure for Europe he had made his first literary essays, in a newspaper of which his brother, Dr. P. Irving, was editor. There is little doubt that these were not few in number, but none can now be identified, except the series of letters under the signature of Jonathan Oldstyle. These were collected, as a matter of bookselling speculation, after the literary reputation of their author was established, and published, although without his sanction. His return was speedily followed by the appearance of the first number of Salmagundi. Those who recur to this sprightly work at the present day, cannot enter into the feelings with which it was received at the epoch at which it was published. They will, indeed, see that it is not unworthy of the reputation afterwards attained by those, who have admitted themselves to have been its authors. But the exact and skilful adaptation of its delicate and witty allusions to the peculiar circumstances of the times, the rich humor with which

prevailing follies were held up to ridicule, and, above all, the exquisite good nature of the satire, that made it almost an honor to have been its object, rendered Salmagundi the most popular work that had ever issued from the American press. Until it made its appearance, our literary efforts had been almost wholly confined to serious discussions upon general and local politics; if a few works of fancy had been produced, the age was not ripe for their reception, and, as in the case of Brown, they procured for their authors no more than a posthumous fame. The well founded belief, that Mr. IRVING had been the principal writer in Salmagundi, placed him, at once, first in the list of the living authors of America. His next literary production was, "The History of New York, by Diedrich Knickerbocker." The idea of this humorous work appears to have been suggested to him by the establishment of a historical society in New York, and the announcement, that one of its members was about to compile from its collections a history of the early periods of our colonial existence. Identifying himself, in imagination, with a descendant of the original Dutch settlers, he adopted, in his fictitious character, all the feelings and prejudices that might well be supposed to be inherent in that race, with an air of gravity and verisimilitude that is well calculated to mislead a reader not previously aware of the deception. The public was prepared for the reception of the work by advertisements, ingeniously planned and worded, in which the supposed landlord of the imaginary author expressed his anxiety for the safety of his guest, until it might fairly have been believed that the veracious historian had actually disappeared from his lodgings. So perfect was the deception, that many commenced the work in full belief of its being serious, and gravely toiled through many of its pages before the wit, and an interest too intense to be created by so trivial a subject as the annals of a little Dutch borough, undeceived them. The author frequently delighted himself, and we are sure must still recur with pleasure, to the anecdote of an aged and most respectable clergyman, who, taking up the work, without referring to its title page or introduction, read many of its chapters in the full belief that it was the production of a clerical brother, who had promised a history of the same period, and was only gradually aroused to a suspicion of his mistake, by the continued variation of the style from grave and solemn irony, through lively wit and poignant humor, until it fairly bordered on the ludicrous. Such is the character of this veracious history, the mask is worn at first with the greatest gravity, yet in such a manner as to give effect to the keenest

and most poignant satire, while as soon as it becomes impossible for the reader to credit that it is other than a work of fancy, the author gives full play to his imagination, and riots in an excess of delicate wit and playful humor. Yet are not these the sole merits of the work: it is occasionally tender, and even pathetic; often replete with lively pictures, worthy, when of character and costume, of the pencil of a Teniers; when of scenery, of that of Claude. In addition, the style is the purest idiomatic English that had been written for many a year, and carries us back to the glories of an Augustan age. It is in marked contrast, not only with the barbarisms of the American newspaper writers of his day, but with the corruptions of the pure fount that their English critics are themselves guilty of. This grace and purity of style is also to be remarked in all his subsequent writings; but his Knickerbocker possesses, in addition, more of nerve and force than they in general do. Its language is either that in which his thoughts spontaneously flowed, or, if elaborated, exhibits that perfection of art which hides the means by which the effect is produced. His other works do not always conceal the labor by which the polish has been attained, and the very grace and smoothness of the periods, sometimes seems to call for a relief to the ear, like that which skilful musicians sometimes apply, in the form of an occasional discord

Were we, however, to be asked where we are to find the prose language of England in its highest degree of perfection, we think we might safely point to the works of Mr. IRVING; these are composed in a style more correct than that of Addison, more forcible than that of Goldsmith, more idiomatic than that of the writers of the Scottish school; and, while it takes advantage of the engraftation of words of Latin and Grecian origin upon the Anglo-Saxon, it is far removed from the learned affectation of Johnson.

The hours in which the papers of Salmagundi were composed, and the History of the New Netherlands compiled, were stolen from the dry study of the law. To this, Mr. IRVING seemed for a time to be condemned, and in spite of the gravity with which, as in the case of Murray, the heads of judges were shaken at him as a wit, he persevered in it, and obtained his license to practice. It is even said, that he opened an office, and that his name was seen painted on a sign, with the adjunct, "Attorney at Law." But it was not predestined that Mr. IRVING should merge these grave doubts in the honors of the woolsack. A client was indeed found hardy enough to trust his cause to the young barrister, but an oppressive feeling of diffi-

dence caused him to shrink from trying it, and it was gladly abandoned to a brother lawyer of far less talent, but who possessed a more happy degree of confidence in his own forensic abilities. This diffidence, literary success has converted into an innate and unaffected modesty, that adds not a little to Mr. IRVING'S agreeable qualities, and which is rare in a person possessed of so high a reputation as he enjoys.

The literary pursuits of Mr. IRVING were interrupted for several years after the publication of Knickerbocker. During this interval, he was admitted by his brothers into a commercial establishment, that they were then successfully carrying on, and in which, it appeared, he might be more profitably engaged than as an author. The business of this mercantile house being interrupted by the war with Great Britain, Mr. IRVING was left free to share in the general military spirit that the capture of Washington, and the threatenings of the enemy to attack New York, awakened in all classes of the community. His services were tendered to Governor Tompkins, then commanding the district of New York, and he was received into his staff as an aid-de-camp. In this employment he was long engaged, and performed its duties with great zeal, not only in the immediate vicinity of his native city, but in several missions of importance to the interior of the state. The peace put an end to this occupation, and he returned to his commercial pursuits, in the furtherance of which, he visited England in the spring of 1815, taking up his abode at Birmingham.

His previous visit to England had been made in winter, and he had made no other excursion but in the mail from London to Bath, at a season when the shortness of the day gave but little opportunity to view the country. The peculiar beauties of English scenery, therefore, broke upon him with unexpected brilliancy. Birmingham, if it have in itself little to interest, except its rich and prosperous manufactures, is situated in a district of no little rural beauty; and within a few hours ride, are to be found some of the sites that recall the most exciting passages of English history, or awaken the most pleasing literary recollections. Kenilworth and Warwick exhibit, the one the most splendid remains of baronial grandeur, the other the only perfect specimen of the feudal castle; Stratford on the Avon still possesses the house in which Shakspeare drew his first breath, and the picturesque Gothic church, in which his remains repose safely, under the protection of his poetic malediction; the Lucies still inhabit the manor house, from whose park the deer was stolen that

fixed the course of the great dramatist's existence. In every direction, episcopal cities raised high the turrets of their venerable minsters, and spread abroad their shadowy cloisters, while hedge row, and mead, and cultured field, spoke of the successful toils of a rural life, more inviting, perhaps, to the romantic fancy, than agreeable to those who are compelled to pursue them. To one who had already celebrated the restless enterprise of the swarms of the New England hive, who spread like locusts over the wilderness, destroying every tree, and laying waste every germ of natural beauty, the calm contrast afforded by the farmers of England, generations of whom are born in the same cottage, and entombed beneath the same yews, was a subject of agreeable study.

The neighborhood of Birmingham did not long delay him, but served to excite his desire to see more of England. He, therefore, in the summer that followed his arrival, joined a friend in a tour through the valley of the Severn, Gloucestershire, and Wales. The letters addressed by him at this period to his American friends, would, if published, form the most interesting portions of his works, and exhibit, with greater freshness, descriptions of scenery and character, like the rich pictures that he afterwards embodied in the Sketch Book and Bracebridge Hall.

Mr. IRVING'S literary career might have now been considered at an end; his commercial connections appeared to promise him wealth, more than commensurate with his wishes. But the unhappy revolution in the business of New York, that followed the unexampled profits with which the first importations were attended, prostrated the mercantile house with which he was connected, along with many of the most respectable, and even opulent merchants of the United States. This blow, however painful at the time, had the happy effect of restoring him to the world of literature. He prepared his Sketch Book, and took measures to have it simultaneously published in London and America. Its success was complete. His own countrymen hailed with joy, the renewal of the exertions in which they had before delighted, and the English nation joined to applaud the author, who, without abandoning his just national pride, was yet sensible to those feelings in which Englishmen glory, and exhibited the honest exultation of a descendant, in the honors of the mighty names that have embellished the literary annals of Great Britain.

The Sketch Book was admired, and its author sought for; the aristocratic circles of the British metropolis received with open arms

the transatlantic writer; and names of no small note in modern literature, did not disdain to be ranked on the list of his imitators. He may justly pride himself on having pointed out a new track to a host of aspirants, and to have, himself, surpassed all who followed him in it. Works upon a similar plan were eagerly asked from him; their appearance, at no distant intervals, increased his fame, and soon left him no cause to regret the prostration of his commercial hopes.

The honors of Mr. IRVING were not limited to the climes, extensive though they be, in which the English tongue is spoken. Translations were made of his tales into most of the languages of the continent, and when he subsequently visited France, Germany, and Spain, he found himself received with the honors due to a national favorite. In the last named kingdom, he undertook the task of giving to his country and to Europe, the history of the life of that hero, who, in the words of his epitaph, gave a new world to Castile and Leon, but who may be said, with more justice, to have opened to the oppressed of every clime a secure and safe refuge, a field, in which the principles of freedom might be safely cultivated. This enterprise was not wanting in boldness, as it placed him in immediate comparison with one of the most celebrated among British historians; but it was eminently successful, as was its interesting abridgment. These are destined, the one to be the first in every collection of American history, the other to be the earliest study of American youth. His tour in Spain led him to the halls of the Alhambra, where he was delayed by the exciting visions they called up, of the chivalrous times when the haughty Castilian, and the gallant Arab, held their last contest for the possession of the fair realm of Grenada. Such associations have given birth to two successful works. These were succeeded by the Adventures of the Companions of Columbus, the brave partners of his perilous enterprise, we wish we could add, his imitators in humanity and benevolence.

On the return of Mr. IRVING to his native country, he was greeted with a degree of warmth rarely equalled. To many, he was endeared by the recollection of intimate and affectionate intercourse, while a new generation, that had sprung up in his absence, crowded with zeal to see and honor, the pride of the literature of America — the author, who had first and successfully answered the reproachful question, "Who reads an American book?" Had he felt inclined to have encouraged the public enthusiasm, his tour throughout the United States might have been one continued ovation.

He has, since his arrival, made an expedition to view the aborigines of our country in their native seats, and where their character is uncontaminated with those of European descent. The literary world has already received a foretaste of the pleasure it is likely to derive, from the new views that this Western tour has opened.

We have not heard that Mr. IRVING is, at present, engaged in any literary enterprise. We have, however, a pledge in the fertility of invention he has hitherto shown, that he is not idle, nor is his task accomplished; still, it remains that he should pursue the career he has opened to himself in the annals of this continent. The downfall of the empires of the Aztecs and Incas, asks for a worthy historian; the generous advocate of Philip of Pokanoket, may yet find an ample field in the early adventures of the British colonists, and in their struggles with that warlike race, which, for a time, bravely withstood their superior civilization and intelligence; finally, his native Hudson claims of him that he, who in his youth first made its banks vocal to the strains of satire, shall, in his mature age, make them renowned, as the habitation of the Historian of the Western continent.

CATHARINE M. SEDGWICK

C M Sedgwick

MISS SEDGWICK.

The subject of the present sketch, as appears by Farmer's Register of the New England settlers, is descended, on her father's side, from Robert Sedgwick, a major general in Cromwell's service, who died in the great expedition against the Spanish West Indies.

Her father was the Honorable Theodore Sedgwick of Stockbridge, Massachusetts, who served his country with distinguished reputation in the House of Representatives, and successively as Speaker of the House of Representatives, and as Senator in Congress, and who, at the time of his death, was one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of his state.

His grandfather by the mother's side was Joseph Dwight, a brigadier general of the Massachusetts Provincial forces, and actively employed in the French war of 1756.

Miss Sedgwick was born at Stockbridge, Massachusetts, in that romantic district of country, where the mountains present every variety of form and scene from their summits to poetize and to attract the eye of the painter, not equal to the sublimity of so much boldness—and where the streams, with no shrubbery to hide, and scarcely moving, wind their way through shaded and rocky passages, and through the verdure of meadow. Those who have visited those scenes, and who have an eye for such things, discern many of the traces of which have made a deep impression upon Miss Sedgwick's mind, and constituted an important part of its education. Those would have the good fortune to meet with a guide, like the painter, pointed out to us the paths which our fathers have sought in vain, he may ascend the mountain, from which Cherry Hill poured out its copious, half frosty and half vegetable rock," where the noble, the sublime, and the beautiful blended the descending harbor of her father with the distant hills of Everell, for whom she felt a sentiment of love and pride, that of love, if such there may be, for we have heard the delights of being his wife never visited her maiden

MISS SEDGWICK.

THE subject of the present sketch, as appears by Farmer's Register of the New England settlers, is descended, on her father's side, from Robert Sedgwick, a major general in Cromwell's service, who died in the great expedition against the Spanish West-Indies.

Her father was the Honorable Theodore Sedgwick of Stockbridge, Massachusetts, who served his country with distinguished reputation in various stations, and particularly as Speaker of the House of Representatives, and as Senator in Congress; and who, at the time of his death, was one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of his state.

Her grandfather by the mother's side was Joseph Dwight, a brigadier general of the Massachusetts Provincial forces, and actively engaged in the old French war of 1756.

MISS SEDGWICK was born at Stockbridge, Massachusetts, in that beautiful district of country, where the mountains present every variety of beauty, and seem from their nearness to possess and to attract a sort of familiarity not usual in scenery of so much boldness—and where the Housatonic, with its alternately rapid, and scarcely moving, current, winds its way through choked and rocky passages, and beautiful intervals of meadow. Those who have visited these scenes, will, if they have an eye for such things, discern many of the traces of beauty which must have made a deep impression upon MISS SEDGWICK's mind, and have constituted an important part of its education. If the traveller should have the good fortune to meet with a guide as intelligent as he, who pointed out to us the paths which our curiosity might otherwise have sought in vain, he may ascend the very rock, carpeted with fresh moss, from which Crazy Bet poured forth her wild snatches of eloquence, half frenzy and half inspiration. He may view "the sacrifice rock," where the noble, the sublime, Magawisca rushed between the descending hatchet of her father and the neck of Everell—of Everell, for whom she felt a sentiment higher and purer than that of love, if such there may be; for we suppose that the thought of being his wife never visited her maiden

dreams, and that she was not even conscious of wishing to be beloved by him.

The unpretending places to which we have referred, possess a peculiar and touching beauty even without the aid of those associations with which the genius of Miss Sedgwick has encircled them: but they receive a still higher interest than any which they could borrow from fiction, when they are regarded as having ministered, at a very early period, to that pure enthusiasm and love of nature which her works so often manifest.

We have often thought, when we have seen young ladies at boarding schools, overlaid with accomplishments, and crammed with the lessons of a dozen masters, how much better it would have been if their hearts and minds had been opened almost at their very dawning, to the silent teachings of nature amidst her majestic woods and hills, and the unnumbered beauties of the garden and of the field. The sentiment which is thus inspired has no sickliness. It cannot be acquired during one or two excursions for pleasure—like its kindred native products, it must take root and spring up under the open sky, and in the pure breath of heaven.

We know scarcely any writer, certainly not any American writer, who has read with a quicker and more discerning eye, with a better taste, or with a purer devotion, than Miss Sedgwick, "those sermons in stones and books in the running brooks," whose wisdom and beauty she has so happily transferred to her own pages. This is a topic upon which, if time were allowed us, we should be glad to expatiate, for we are strongly inclined to think that the artificial character of society is unfriendly to a heartfelt love of natural beauty—and that in this age of printing, when the press is prolific beyond all example, the incessant inquiry for new books threatens with neglect the great volume of nature.

Our readers must be aware that the license which is allowed us in the sketch of a lady, precludes us from borrowing from memory or asking from friends, any of those details without which that strong individuality which is, or might be, engraven on our own minds, could not be transferred to others. Were it no trespass, we should, to the best of our ability, present those charms of conversation and those traits of moral excellence which render Miss Sedgwick's society and character the objects of admiration, and of the most partial attachment to all who enjoy her acquaintance and friendship.

But doubting our license on these points, we must leave those who have never enjoyed this happiness, to form what conjectures they

may, in these respects, from her writings, and from the engraving which precedes these pages; a copy from a very fine picture by Ingham, taken, as we are informed, some few years since.

We may be permitted, nevertheless, to speak as we think, of her writings. The first published of her works was the NEW ENGLAND TALE. There is a circumstance relating to this work, which, if we have been correctly informed, shows that the public are indebted, not so much to love of literature or distinction, as to accident, for her writings as a novelist. It is quite proverbial that many important events which affect the fortunes of our race, are often independent of any human design, but we are not aware that the annals of literature are often signalized by such occurrences. Be this as it may, the New England Tale, (the fact is vouched by the preface of that charming work,) was originally intended for publication as a religious tract. But it gradually grew beyond the necessary limits of such a design. It was thus extended without any intention of publication, and finished solely to amuse the writer. Such was her distrust of her abilities, and so great her reluctance to appear before the public in a work of this magnitude, that her consent to its publication was finally extorted, rather than given.

The portraiture of religious hypocrisy which that work contained, and which we could wish were less true, brought upon its author the charge of sectarianism. It is altogether probable that in a work originally intended for the class to which that belongs, MISS SEDGWICK would never have allowed the general design and interest to be so much interwoven with topics of a debateable character. The plan of the New England Tale did not admit of the variety, the extent, or power of delineation, which her subsequent writings have exhibited; but it contains passages of deep tenderness—descriptions of nature, for example, in the scenery of "the Mountain Caves"—and notes of eloquence in the wild songs or rhapsodies of Crazy Bet, which the author has seldom, if ever, surpassed. She seems to have led us to her favorite resorts on the banks of the Housatonic, or the mountain's side—to those haunts which her youthful steps have traced; in those bright days, ere a single shadow has been thrown upon the prospect of life, except to enhance its beauty. And as to the inspirations of poor Crazy Bet, we confess that, like the communings of Madge Wildfire with "the lovely Lady Moon," their united grace and pathos have occasionally affected us quite as much as was becoming the gravity of our years, or the sternness of our sex.

After the New England Tale, to use a homely phrase, the ice was

broken, and it was not long before REDWOOD was given to the public. The popularity of this work has not been rivalled by any of the author's productions, unless HOPE LESLIE be an exception.

The nature of this notice forbids any thing like a critique upon any of the works under consideration. But we must be permitted to say, that we consider Miss Debby Lennox one of the most original and best delineations throughout, with which we are acquainted. It is perhaps impossible to explain the secrets of that wonderful combination by which a writer of genius brings before us the creatures of his imagination, in such a way that we feel them to be as real existences as any persons in history, or among our acquaintances. Analysis may show us what are the component parts of the character, but it scarcely serves to explain the mystery of its influence upon us, better than a dissection can exhibit the living functions of the human frame, or the secret of its life. There are but very few instances in the whole range of fiction, or at least in so far as we are acquainted with it, in which the character throughout, if we may so say, speaks for himself, and not the author, for him; or, in other words, in which every expression and motion seem to be those of a real person. Such a character is not a picture, nor a statue, nor an admirable automaton, nor a personification of any nameable qualities; but an independent, self-existent being, a fellow-creature. Such beings come to be of the number of our associates or friends. The power of such a creation is among the rarest gifts, if not the very highest endowments of genius. And whatever may be the station of Deborah Lennox in this society, she appears to us to be one of its members, as decidedly as Old Mause, or Cuddy Headrigg, or even Jeanie Deans herself. So absolute is her identity to our minds, that we think we should recognise her famous "lutestring changeable," even if it were to walk forth without its proprietor.

Redwood was admired abroad, nearly as much as in this country. It was published in England and translated into French, the translation bearing on its title page a claim to favor, which, perhaps, no other American name could have conferred, being announced as "par M. Cooper, auteur d'une histoire de la nouvelle Angleterre," &c. &c. The same work soon after appeared in an Italian costume.

We have expressed a doubt whether any other work of MISS SEDGWICK ever acquired so much popularity as Redwood. We do not profess, however, to be so good judges as the booksellers, on that point. But we may be permitted to declare the judgment of the select few, to which class the polite reader will, of course, understand

that we, and all the critics, belong. With all that select corps, we believe, and with ourselves we are sure, Hope Leslie stands first, we might almost say, stands alone. We have always imagined, with what truth those who know the author better, will judge, that the fine spirit, the delicacy, the purity, the impulsiveness, the generosity, tenderness, piety, and, if we may be permitted to add, weaknesses, or rather womanishnesses of the heroine of the work, were, for the most part a transcript of the character of the author. If this were not true, we should admire Hope Leslie more than any other creation of the author, but not doubting it, we certainly admire and love her more than any of her sisters, if this relationship may be imputed to all the female descendants of a common parent by literary genealogy.

But even Hope Leslie is not without a rival. Magawisca inspires a loftier sentiment. She is full of moral grandeur; but there is a feeling of loneliness accompanying and inseparable, from the elevation of her character, which, while it renders it impossible that any one should be the sharer and arbiter of her fortunes, excludes her, perhaps, in some measure, from the fulness of our sympathy. And it must be acknowledged that the author has rendered herself obnoxious to the charge of having transcended all the limits of probability in the extreme refinement, and we may add, polish of character, which she has given to this representative of an injured race; unless, indeed, the ancient canon of criticism, upon this point, may be considered as abolished by the example of the great magician, in the "unimitated and inimitable" Rebecca.

We have not left ourselves room for any particular remarks upon the residue of Miss Sedgwick's works. Clarence, the last of her larger productions, is the only one which, as far as we have heard, ever reached a second edition in England, where they have all been republished, and where, as well as we can learn by our countrymen, who have had an opportunity of judging, they have been very justly appreciated.

Le Bossu, which has recently appeared, is greatly and justly admired, and fully sustains the reputation of its author. This is the best of her smaller works, and perhaps the most finished of them all. This tale properly belongs to the class of historical romances. The author has taken the liberty in one or two instances, of which she was doubtless well aware, to transpose the order of events. While we leave to others the vindication of the rights of criticism upon this point, we must be permitted to express our satisfaction and delight at the fidelity with which she has transferred to her pages the true

impress and spirit of the times of Charlemagne. This tale is equally remarkable for its finished portraiture of individual character, for the grouping of the dramatis personæ, for the skill and contrivance of the incidents, for the grace of its decorations, and for its constant and spirit-stirring action.

If we might be permitted to advise her upon the subject of literary partnerships, like that of GLAUBER SPA, we would counsel her never to engage in another. Not that we have any objections to this association in particular—but we prefer MISS SEDGWICK by herself. And moreover, we think such associations dangerous for a lady. Not that she would be in any sense responsible for any latitudinarianism, either in morals or taste, which such a work might contain —but nevertheless, in case of such delinquency, she would be associated with it, in the public mind, to a certain extent. While we are talking of this beautiful tale, we may be permitted to say that a collection of MISS SEDGWICK's contributions to the Souvenirs, would form two delightful, and we doubt not, popular volumes.

But we have left ourselves little room to speak of the general character of MISS SEDGWICK's writings, or of the place which they occupy in American literature. A discussion of this last topic may be well spared in this notice, but we would not entirely pass by the first, because we regard these writings as affording, in an eminent degree, an index of the heart, as well as of the mind, of the writer.

It is evident that MISS SEDGWICK's mind inclines towards cheerful views of life. There seems to be implanted in her heart a love of goodness, and of the beautiful, which turns as naturally towards serenity and joy, as flowers lean towards the sun. It is manifest that though possessing great refinement herself, her sympathies are not confined to a coterie or a class, but that they are called forth by every manifestation of virtue, even in the most humble circumstances, and that she looks with kind regard upon those gleams of a better nature which occasionally break forth amid prevailing clouds and darkness.

She affects no indifference to the accidental advantages of condition. It would be impossible to diminish her interest in the powers and fascinations of genius and imagination, and she thinks it no duty to attempt it. But her highest favor and affection are reserved for that enduring virtue, which is perfected through much trial and tribulation, and which needs no earthly witness, or outward reward. She delights to see the "signet of hope upon the brow of infancy;" but she remembers with more satisfaction the last smile of unfaltering faith and love, which even death itself spares for a season.

MISS SEDGWICK.

It is impossible to speak of her works without a particular regard to their moral and religious character. We know no writer of the class to which she belongs, who has done more to inculcate just religious sentiments. They are never obtruded, nor are they ever suppressed. It is not the religion of observances, nor of professions, nor of articles of faith, but of the heart and life. It always comes forth, not as something said or done from a sense of necessity or duty, but as part of the character and inseparable from its strength, as well as from its grace and beauty. It is a union of that faith which works by love, with that charity which never faileth.

There is another characteristic of Miss Sedgwick's writings which should not be overlooked. We allude to their great good sense, and practical discretion, the notableness which they evince, and recommend. This is so true, that we recollect having heard a zealous utilitarian declare, after reading one of her works, that political economy might be taught to the greatest advantage through the medium of romances.

We cannot omit a passing remark upon Miss Sedgwick's style. We have often thought, that in the hands of a master, the subject of style would afford an admirable opportunity for establishing a new school of philosophy. It is very certain that style affords a truer index of the mind, than the theory of physiognomy, even in the hands of the philosophical Lavater; or that of craniology, in those of Gall and Spurzheim. He who shall set up for the leader of a sect upon this subject, must be able to furnish us with an experimentum crucis, by which we can separate what is adventitious from what is natural; that which is derived from fashion and imitation, however unconsciously, from that embodying of the thoughts, which is, perhaps, not less characteristic than themselves.

Whatever our readers may think of the depths of this philosophy, we are sure that they will agree with us, that there is a peculiar grace, fitness, and beauty, in Miss Sedgwick's style: it is entirely devoid of mannerism, and we like it a thousand times better on that account. The drapery of her thoughts is negligée, gay, rich, grave, or solemn, as becomes them. There is one particular in which we especially admire her costume: there is no variety of it which ever exhibits a single blue thread, in a certain quarter where that color is but too apt to attract attention. She always leads us to regard her rather as an accomplished lady, than as a brilliant author. Her style is never marked by pedantry, and is equally free from stiffness and negligence—it is more distinguished by delicacy and grace

than strength. The purity of her English may afford a model to some of our learned scholars; and with that of Miss Edgeworth it furnishes for their consideration the very interesting problem how far a knowledge of the learned languages is essential to an English writer in the use of his vernacular tongue.

Our limits will not permit us to speak of Miss Sedgwick's powers of invention, and imagination, nor of her great truth and skill in the delineation of character. We cannot, however, wholly omit to notice that power, which speaks from heart to heart. In matters of taste, we may adopt the opinions of others, but we must feel for ourselves. On this subject we know not what may be the experience of others, but for ourselves, we hardly know more beautiful specimens of the pathetic, than are to be found in the works of Miss Sedgwick. It takes you by surprise, and finds its way, before you are aware of it, to the fountain of tears, like the heart-broken voice of a child. She never attempts to convulse our hearts with hopeless and unprofitable agonies—and if there be any thing painful in the emotions which she calls forth, it is more than compensated by the healing influence which they possess—the kindly sympathies they elicit, or the sense of justice which they satisfy—and this, we think, is the limit beyond which fictitious misery should never pass.

JAMES FENIMORE COOPER

J. Fenimore Cooper

Entered according to Act of Congress in the year 1850, by James Herring, in the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the Southern District of New York.

JAMES FENIMORE COOPER.

"For him there's a story in every breeze,
And a picture in every wave." MOORE.

JAMES FENIMORE COOPER was born at Bordentown, in the state of New Jersey, September 15th, 1789. His family is one of the most ancient in our country, and can be traced back distinctly to the early part of the seventeenth century. By the maternal side his American pedigree is equally ancient, springing from a Swedish stock, which dates from the first settlement of Delaware. A very large estate is still owned, and has been occupied by the family, in New Jersey, ever since that state was settled.

These facts, although of little consequence in a country where every individual is the "faber tuæ fortunæ," the founder of his own family—are alluded to in this place, to refute the assertions made in several foreign magazines by writers, who, in their zeal for monopolizing all excellence, have claimed Mr. COOPER as an Englishman. We have reason to believe that the subject of this sketch is proud of his old American blood, less from personal considerations than from those ardent feelings of nationality which form so prominent a feature in his character. We are old fashioned enough to like him the better for it; and we cannot comprehend why the same glowing devotion to one's own country, which is admired in Scott, Beranger, or Moore, should not be appreciated in the writings of COOPER. It is no small evidence that we are not yet entirely disinthralled from our mental dependance upon Europe, when we can applaud the narrow selfishness of a Scotch freebooter, or an Irish rapparee, and yet "hesitate dislike" when a manly and rational love of country is inculcated by one of our distinguished citizens.

The early education of young COOPER commenced at Bordentown, but upon the removal of his father, Judge Cooper, to Cooperstown, in the state of New York, where he had purchased a large estate, the subject of our memoir was placed, in the year 1799, under the care of the Rev. Mr. Ellison, Rector of St. Peter's Church, Albany. After a residence of some years in one of our colleges, he was permitted

to enter the navy, for which he had shewn an early predilection. During a service of several years on the lakes and the ocean, he gave brilliant promise of future excellence by his activity, gallantry, and unremitted attention to the duties of his arduous profession. This would have been speedily followed by promotion, but he relinquished it for other and more pleasing engagements. He married, and for several years gave himself up to all the luxurious ease of a country gentleman.

During this period, he appears to have accumulated those rich stores of intellectual wealth which were afterwards to be poured forth to gratify and delight his countrymen. It is certain, at least, that to his residence at Cooperstown we can trace the origin of those beautiful delineations of frontier manners and scenery which characterize the "Pioneers," while the singularly bold and striking incidents of the "Spy" may be safely attributed to the legends and traditions of his neighbors during his residence on the "Neutral Ground."

It is not known at what period his thoughts were turned towards embodying, in a work of imagination, his views of society, character, and manners, although we are aware that many essays, distinguished alike for vigor of thought and manly expression, which appeared in the Literary and Philosophical Repository for 1822–3, were generally attributed to the pen of Mr. Cooper.

Apparently acquainted with the prevailing tastes of his countrymen, he made his first formal essay as a novelist under a foreign disguise. "Precaution" was given to the world. The scene was laid in England, and it contained a due proportion of noble lords and titled dames to render it palatable to his readers. As an English novel, it was at first favorably received, but as it contained no fashionable slang, misplaced sentimentality, incoherent rhapsodies, nor libels upon distinguished characters, having been noticed in no English review, and worse than all, the secret of its authorship having transpired; it narrowly escaped oblivion, when his subsequent works, the "Spy," "Pilot," "Pioneers," &c., which appeared in rapid succession, placed our author in high favor with the public.

In a biographical sketch of a living writer, propriety appears to indicate that a critical analysis of his writings would be totally misplaced. This more properly belongs to the province of the reviewer, but we may be permitted to allude to a few particulars in which he is confessedly without a rival.

His ocean pictures and delineations of the nautical character in all

its phases, from the thoughtless tar before the mast, to the grave and dignified commander,

"Who treads the monarch of the peopled deck,"

are acknowledged to be as far superior to the sketches of Smollet, as Smollet himself stands before the Halls and Marryats of the present day.

Nor has he been less successful in delineating the "rainbow glories" of our forest scenery, and in depicting the moody, taciturn, and sententious red man of the forest.

For several years past, Mr. Cooper has resided in various parts of Europe, with the view of giving to his numerous family the advantages of a highly finished education. He had been complimented with the title of American consul at Lyons—an empty honor, which our author seems to have estimated at its just value, for we believe that he never visited the scene of his official functions.

During this period, the pen of Mr. Cooper has been frequently exercised, and although it has been made a subject of reproach, that in his late writings he has introduced political allusions into professed works of imagination, yet the charge comes with an ill grace from his countrymen.

During the residence of Mr. Cooper in Paris, the eventful revolution of July took place, and stirred up all the parties and factions which had been torpid under the leaden sceptres of Louis and Charles. The struggle between the absolutists, republicans, and constitutionalists, became exceedingly severe; and our author found himself suddenly placed in a position from which one of a less ardent disposition would have shrunk. One of the weapons wielded by the French republican party, was the comparative cheapness of that form of government; and to a nation like France, which had suffered so much from the lavish prodigality of its kings, it was a powerful argument. It is, we believe, generally conceded, that our own Lafayette, although a republican himself, saw with his characteristic sagacity, the entire unfitness of such a form of government to modern France, and was rather considered as the leader of the constitutional party. However this may be, the discussion assumed an animated character, the expenses of our own institutions were critically canvassed, and it was roundly asserted by the absolutists, that the people of these United States paid more direct and indirect taxes for the support of government than the French. This roused the honest old patriot, Lafayette, who, in the absence of sufficient sta-

tistical information, applied to Mr. Cooper to furnish him with such data as would drive the libellers from their false position. With this request he cheerfully complied—and shame light upon the American who in such a cause would have acted otherwise. It would be foreign to these pages to pursue the history of this discussion farther than to observe, that in doing this, Mr. Cooper appears to have acted under a stern sense of duty towards his native land, regardless of personal considerations, regardless of its effect upon his European popularity, and, as we learn from one of his published letters, at no inconsiderable pecuniary sacrifice. For such services he looked for no reward beyond the consciousness of having defended the institutions of his beloved country, and doubtless he anticipated the hearty approval of his countrymen. In this latter particular, we regret to add that our author has been disappointed. He has been coolly "damned with faint applause" by some, while others have reproached him with having "flouted his Americanism throughout Europe." All, however, have not taken this view of the subject.

It will stand an everlasting stigma upon the reputation of one of the master spirits of the age, upon Goëthe, the father—we had almost said the founder—of German literature, that in all his voluminous and multifarious writings, not a line can be found calculated to awaken the dormant patriotism of his countrymen, to arouse them to a sense of their duties as citizens or of their rights as freemen. Far different is the case with our esteemed author, who, during his residence abroad, has effected more in defence of our political institutions, more in vindication of our national character from the open and covert attacks of foreign libellers, than any or all of the American writers who have selected Europe as their residence.

We conclude, with transferring to our pages the following tribute from one of our highly gifted bards.

"Cooper, whose name is with his country's woven,
First in her fields, her pioneer of mind,
A wanderer now in other climes has proven
His love for the young land he left behind,

"And thron'd her in the senate hall of nations,
Robed like the deluge rainbow, heaven wrought;
Magnificent as his own mind's creations,
And beautiful as her green world of thought." Halleck.

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